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# ARRIAN'S HISTORY

OF

## Alexander's Expedition.

Translated from the GREEK.

WITH

NOTES *Historical, Geographical, and Critical.*

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By Mr. ROOKER.

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In Two VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.

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To which is Prefix'd,

Mr. LE CLERC's CRITICISM upon  
QUINTUS CURTIUS.

And some REMARKS upon Mr. PERIZONIUS's  
Vindication of that AUTHOR.

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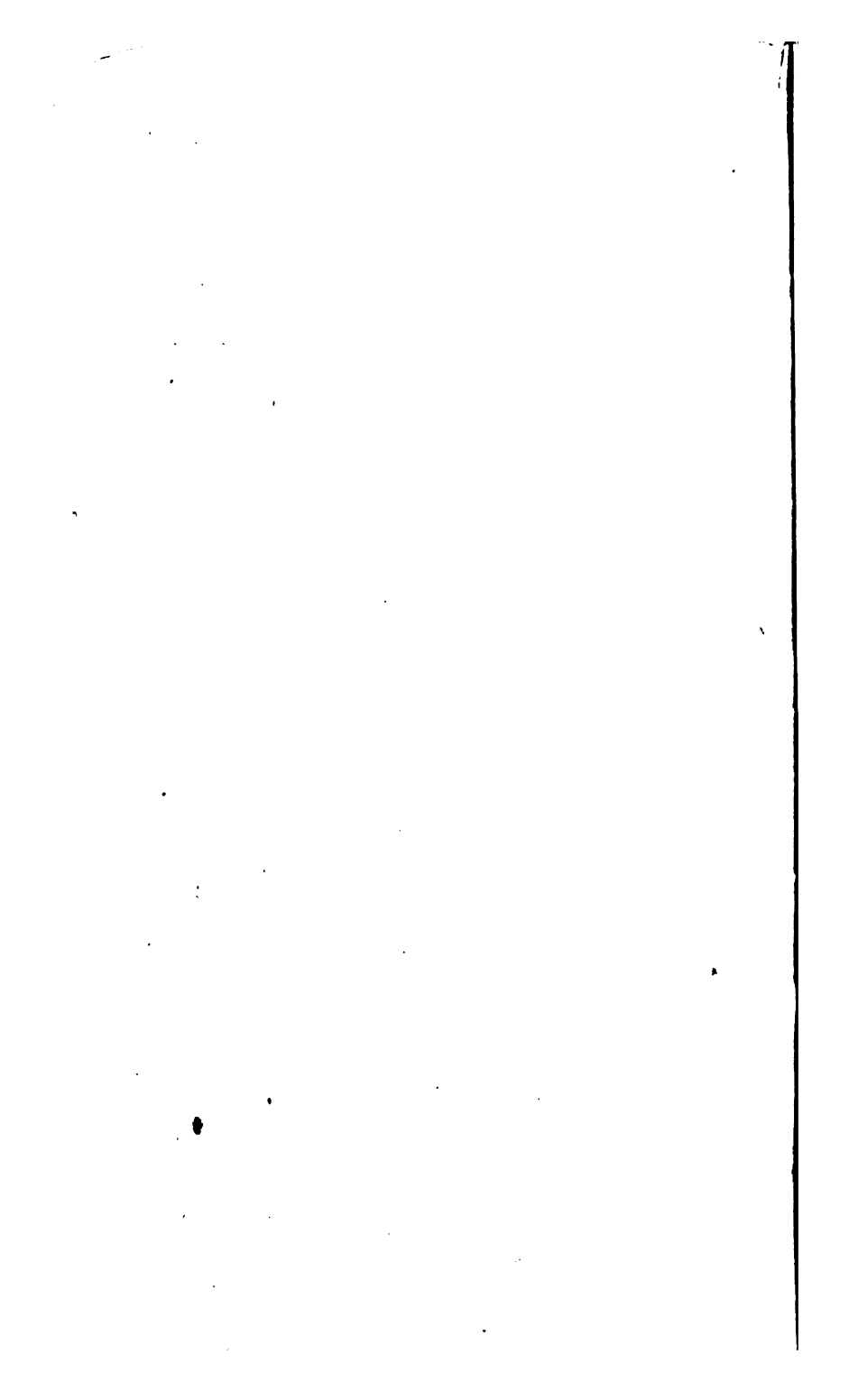
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TO THE  
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*S I R,*

**T** RUE History, like a faithful Mirrour, gives Princes, as well as private Men, an exact Representation of the Transactions of past Ages; but if Partiality infatuates the Historian, or Prejudice overballances his Judgment, his Images appear monstrous and unnatural, and we lose the

## DEDICATION.

only Benefit we hoped to reap from his Labours.

The Story I now resume to lay at Your MAJESTY'S Feet, is no less than the Fall of the vast *Persian* Empire, and the Establishment of the *Grecian* upon its Ruins. No Period of Time was ever more famous: No General ever push'd his Conquests so far in so short a Time, nor over-run so many Countries with so small a Force. None had a more numerous Race of Writers, to recommend his Acts to Posterity; but the greatest Part of their Compositions was either Panegyrick or Satire; for none durst write the Truth concerning him, while he lived, and few seem to have had an Inclination to it, after his Death. These, and the like Considerations, moved our Author to undertake this History, wherein he has drawn a more natural and lively Pourtraiture of Him, than any of the rest, and painted his Vices, as well as his Virtues, in their proper Colours. This, added to his Judiciousness and Impartiality, has gain'd him so high an Esteem in the World, that the greatest Princes, in different

## D E D I C A T I O N.

different Ages, have deign'd him their Protection. *Hadrian*, and *Antonine*, the Emperor *Sigismond*, *Alphonfus* King of *Aragon*, and *Cosmus* the late Duke of *Tuscany*, are Instances of this: They all approv'd, and patroniz'd his Works; and I flatter myself, that if the Present I now offer, fail of Your MAJESTY's Acceptance, it must be on Account of the Unworthiness of him who offers it. It would be highly injurious to Your unspotted Character, to pretend to draw any Parallel between *Alexander* and Your MAJESTY. But as his mistaken Greatness may serve as a Contrast to Your real Goodness, I think it my Duty to take a small Sketch of each, and shall submit the Justice of what I advance to the Judgment of every unprejudic'd *Briton* within Your Dominions.

He first compleated the Slavery of his own Country, and then set Forth to lay his Yoke upon the Necks of Foreigners: He trampled upon the Rights of all Nations where-ever he came, and nothing Sacred or Profane escap'd the Fury of his Arms. Fire and Sword were the constant  
Atten-

## DEDICATION.

Attendants of his Expedition, and Desolation and Ruin followed his Footsteps : His restless Ambition aim'd at no less than Universal Sovereignty, and he waded thro' a Sea of Blood to obtain it. No Rocks nor Mountains could stem the Torrent of his Rage ; No Rivers, Seas, nor Desarts, check his dreadful Course : Millions of Lives were sacrific'd to his Glory, and vast Cities turn'd to a Wilderness, to raise him a Name. What he bestow'd lavishly upon some, he had, before, wrested unjustly from others, and his Height of Rapine only made Way for his Excess of Prodigality. His best Friends often found the same Treatment with his worst Enemies, and when inflam'd with Wrath, or Wine, he sometimes slew those, whom in point of Gratitude, as well as Policy, He ought to have saved.

How widely different from this, nay, how directly opposite to this, is Your MAJESTY'S Character ! As the Knowledge of Mankind has been Your peculiar Study, the Good of Mankind is Your principal Care. You have no Notion of conquering Kingdoms, but to preserve their Inha-



## DEDICATION.

Inhabitants from Tyranny and Oppression, and are more ambitious to be stil'd Arbiter of *Europe's* Differences, than to be declar'd Lord of its Liberties. Your Name will shine brighter in *British* Annals by preserving the Rights of Your own People, than if You were to carry the Terror of Your Arms as far as the *Hellepont*, and make as extensive Conquests in the Western World, as *Alexander* did in the Eastern. However, Your Skill is not confin'd to the softer Arts of Peace; You have appear'd in Arms for the Cause of Liberty already, and the same Cause will invite You forth again. You have engag'd Your Self to defend us from Foreign Foes, as well as from Domestick Factions, and have assured us, that Your Sword shall procure us Peace, whenever Treaties are found ineffectual. How happy then might we be; could we but be sensible of our own Happiness! How should we prize that Monarch, who places his only Interest in our Safety! Your Exactness in the Administration of Justice, Your consummate Wisdom, and the Mildness of Your Sway, endear You to all who bear any Regard to their Country's

## DEDICATION.

try's Welfare, and You will reap more true Glory from Reigning over the Hearts of one Kingdom of Free-born Subjects, than by trampling upon the Necks of a World of Slaves.

I am, with the most Profound Submission,

*May it please Your MAJESTY,*

*Your MAJESTY's*

*Most Dutiful,*

*Most Devoted,*

*And most Obedient*

*Subject and Servant,*

JOHN ROOKE.



# P R E F A C E.



*A D there been ever a tolerable History of Alexander's Acts in the English Tongue, I had hardly undertaken this; and had this been ever translated into English before, I had scarce attempted it again: But as most of the Histories of him, in our Language, are full of Errors, Inconsistencies, Incredibilities, and Romance, I thought it might be no unacceptable Piece of Service, to present the Publick with the truest, justest, and most accurate Account thereof now extant; and to put this Matter beyond Dispute, I have taken the Pains to compare several of the most material Passages in this History, with the Accounts given us of them by other Authors; and as I have no particular Biass of Prejudice, Prepossession, nor Interest, that I am sensible of, to incline me one way or another, I presume, I have stated the Case, all along, fairly, and impartially, on each Side. The greatest part of the Knowledge we arrive at, is acquired by comparing Things and Ideas with each other; and if so, the nearest way to it, is by laying*

[a]

*them*

## P R E F A C E.

*them fairly together, and making apt and useful Comparisons. Before we can justly determine the Difference between two Bodies, in Quantity, we must know the exact Dimensions of both; and before we can be satisfied of the Difference of two Ideas, in Quality, we must form a true Judgment of each. When a considerable Number of Authors treat upon one Subject (unless they have all copied each other, which seldom happens) where-ever one seems to run mad, we find another in his Senses; where one sleeps, another keeps awake; where one curtails a Story too much, another gives it fully; and where one delivers it in dark and unintelligible Terms, another serves to clear up his Meaning, and render him plain and easy: In short, where-ever one errs in any Particular, he is either corrected by some other, or may be, by a judicious Commentator. This is the Method I have taken, with the Writers of the ensuing History; and by this means my Readers will reap the Advantage of consulting many Authors by looking into one, and have the Substance of several Volumes contracted into the Compass of a few Pages. Of almost an Hundred and fifty Authors who have handled this Subject, scarce Half a Score have come down to our Times, and even the better part of these have only touch'd it casually. The chief of the remaining ones are Diodorus, Strabo, Plutarch, Arrian, Curtius, Justin, and Orosius. Of these, Diodorus, Justin, and Orosius wrote his Acts only transiently in their larger Works, and having so many Things upon their Hands at once, it is no great Wonder if they be found accurate in nothing. Diodorus took much upon Trust, without ever examining into the Truth*

*or*

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*or Credibility of the Facts which he related ; He swallowed every thing, without digesting any thing; and Curtius either copied from the same Authors, or, which is much more likely, translated a great part of his Work from him. Trogus was either a sad Historian, or Justin a vile Abridger ; but as we have the Testimony of many famous Men of Antiquity in favour of Trogus, Justin will stand condemn'd as an injudicious Author, and the World would have been highly satisfied, if an Hundred such as he had perish'd, so Trogus had come safe to our Hands. Orosius consulted Justin as his grand Oracle, and copied much from him ; and when the Fountain is muddy, it is no Wonder if the Stream partake of the same Qualities. Strabo has intermix'd sundry excellent Passages of Alexander's Life with his Geography, which makes us regret the Loss of the Treatise which he wrote upon that Subject : He has also given us a just Character of many of Alexander's Followers, who, to satisfy their Monarch's Vanity during his Life, or to gratify their own Inclinations after his Death, publish'd strange, and unaccountable Stories of his Exploits. Even Ptolemy, and Aristobulus, (whom our Author chiefly copied) are not always free from this; but as Arrian was a Man of a sound Judgment, he took care to chuse only what was most probable, and left the rest, as Husks, and Chaff, to be glean'd up by such as were ambitious of swelling their Works to a huge Size, by Heaps of all Gatherings :*

——— Quicquid Græcia mendax

Audet in Historia———

Juv. Sat. 10.

[ a 2 ]

But,

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*But, Thanks to kind Time, the greatest part of these romancing Gentry are now gone to Rest, and their Works have followed them. What Callisthenes wrote concerning Alexander, is long since lost; besides, he was put to Death before that Monarch had half finished his Expedition.*

*Eratosthenes was the first, so far as I can find, who undertook to detect the Macedonian Forgeries, and did it to so good purpose, that Strabo, Plutarch, and Arrian have steer'd after his Light, and thereby reduced their Accounts to Reason and Probability, whilst Diodorus, Curtius, Justin, and some others of inferior Rank, have followed blind credulous Guides, and are perpetually groping and stumbling about in Mists of Error and Uncertainty. Few would, perhaps, have drawn up a better Narrative of Alexander's Acts than Plutarch, had he design'd his Work as pure History; but he himself acquaints us, at his first setting out, that he rather endeavours to declare the Springs or Causes of Actions, than the Actions themselves: Besides, with regard to Prodigies, Omens, &c. he was extremely credulous, and even his Accounts of Facts are not always carefully given. Many other Authors have presented us with single Stories relating to this Affair, particularly Pliny, Athenæus, Philostratus, Seneca, Lucian, Polyænus, Frontinus, Ælian, and others, to whom I have, occasionally refer'd in the Comment upon the ensuing Work; but as they are well known, I shall forbear characterising them here. Thus far, I think, I have Truth, and Justice on my Side; and I believe I may safely affirm, that no antient Author who ever wrote a particular History of Alexander, now remains,*



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*remains, except Curtius, and Arrian; and if I have made it evident, that Arrian is the best, the truest, and the most accurate Historian of the two, by setting the Truth and Credibility of the several Facts, as related by each, in a clear Light, I shall go a great way in convincing the unprejudiced Part, at least, that my chief Design was their Instruction: Besides, this may, perhaps, be a Means of gaining Arrian an Esteem among English Readers, to whom he has hitherto lain wholly unknown. The chief Benefit we can receive from History, is by comparing Effects with the Causes which produced them; and, as like Effects will always flow from like Causes, we may form a pretty good Judgment of future Contingencies, by looking carefully into past Events, and learn to regulate our Affairs accordingly. This renders History really useful to the World, and this sets the grave, judicious, and exact Historian above the airy, vain, and empty Romancer; for, if either our Accounts of Causes; or their Effects be erroneously given, we shall form a wrong Judgment concerning them, and instead of making ourselves wiser by them, we shall be immers'd in greater Folly and Stupidity than before.*

*As to this Translation of Arrian, I have done it justly, to the best of my Knowledge, without endeavouring so much at Eloquence in Diction, as thereby to destroy the Plainness and Simplicity of his Manner of relating Facts. And whenever I have had occasion to introduce other Authors, in my Comment, I hope I have seldom misunderstood, misquoted, misinterpreted, or misrepresented them, to serve any sinister Purpose of my own. I have generally directed my Readers to the Book, Chapter, or*

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*Page whence I borrowed my Materials ; and I neither desire, nor expect further Credit than the Vouchers I produce, and the Arguments I use, naturally demand. Historical Facts are not reducible to Mathematical Certainty ; the most we can hope for, is, that the Historian be a Man of Judgment, who will not be imposed upon, by Fiction, himself, and a Man of Veracity, who will not impose it upon us ; and then we may safely rely upon him, unless some other gives us a more probable Account of some Particulars ; for as Demonstration cannot be had, every Story will gain Credit with us according to the degree of Probability it bears. I have been no more partial to Arrian, in my Remarks, than to any other Author : He has been sometimes overseen, thro' Haste or Inadvertency ; and if I add, that he is not exempt from human Frailty, it will be no great Diminution to his Credit. He has been much abused by ignorant Transcribers ; and tho' three or four have publish'd Observations, and Critical Notes with their Editions, I still suspect several Passages to be corrupt ; however, I have pointed them out, and earnestly recommend them to his next Editor to correct, by the Assistance of Manuscript Copies.*

*Curtius has had a multitude of Editions, and a numerous Herd of Commentators have exercised their Faculties upon him, and been lavish in his Praise, among whom the celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam appears as one ; but Mr. Le Clerc has justly observ'd, that these have either commended the whole Work, without any Regard to the Parts which compose it, or some of the Parts, without considering what Relation they bore*

## P R E F A C E.

bore to the Whole. They were, indeed, so blinded with the Glare of his Oratory, that they seem never to have presumed to look further. The first who attempted to call his Veracity in question, was Henry Glareanus: He wrote very sharp and severe Notes upon him, and tax'd him with abundance of Errors, (some say, more than were true); however, Snakenburgh commends his Industry, and excuses him, by telling us, it often happens, that the first Remarkers upon other Mens Failings, fall into Errors themselves. Modius attempted to vindicate Curtius from the Reflections of Glareanus, and made himself excessively merry with him; but he was served the same Sauce by Acidalius, and used in the same sarcastick manner. His next Commentators were Popma, Loccenius, Raderus, and Freinshemius, which last took immense Pains in comparing him with Arrian, and other Authors; and to his Labours I am not ashamed to own myself vastly indebted. Tellier, with some others, succeeded him, and every one found new Faults in their Author (Curtius) which had escaped the Search of the rest. As for my part, I have used each of them, as far as I deem'd them agreeable to Truth, and have sometimes taken the same Liberty of departing from all of them, which they have occasionally taken with each other, namely, when I had stronger Reasons to induce me to a contrary Opinion: However, if any other Commentator upon Curtius arises in my Days, who will be so kind as to shew me one of my Errors, (for I am no more than a Man, and pretend not to Infallibility) and bring sufficient Proofs along with him, I shall freely and readily subscribe to

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*his Opinion. I desire no better, nor more candid Usage from Posterity, than what I have given my Predecessors in this Province, and have set aside all Authority of great Names, whenever they endeavoured to make me swerve from Truth. Truth is, and always will be, what it ever was, and what was false Two thousand Years ago, is the same at this present Writing; for Antiquity can give no Sanction to Error. There was a Time when all the Antients were Moderns, and there may come a Time when some, who are now Moderns, may be stiled Antients. We Moderns are Men, the Antients were no more: They were subject to the same Frailties, Passions, and Prejudices with ourselves; some of them wrote as smartly against their Predecessors, as we can write against ours, and laid as many Accusations of Partiality and Error to their Charge, as we ever pretended to lay to ours. Had I transcribed or translated all I could have raked up, relating to this Subject, neither Two, nor Half a dozen such Volumes as these, would have contain'd them; but my intended Brevity debarr'd me from making long Quotations: However, where I have only abridg'd others, I hope I have seldom fail'd to carry the Strength of their Reasons along with me, and to take whatever suited my Purpose. The Works of a Dutch Commentator would, I fancy, be grateful to few English Readers; for which Reason, I have given my Observations such a Turn, as to take off that Dullness, and Dryness, so common to most of my Fraternity, and endeavoured to render them agreeable, at the same time that they are instructive. No Remarks of this kind, that I know of,*  
*have*

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have ever yet been publish'd to an English Translation of any antient Historian, and of what vast Use they are, may be perceived at first Sight. We have, indeed, had a faint Attempt towards some, in Brown's Justin; but the Commentator has not thought fit to take notice of a Tenth part of his Author's Errors, as they had been publish'd, before his Time, in the Variorum, and other Editions. We have also now, some Remarks of Mr. Dacier, upon an English Version of Plutarch's Lives; but those relating to Alexander especially, are so mean, and trifling, that I could find no more than about five Lines, which I thought worth transcribing from him. I have purposely avoided taking notice of the Controversy relating to Curtius's Antiquity; for whether he be an Antient, or a Modern, concerns neither me, nor the World, half so much to know, as whether the Work bearing his Name be good or bad: That has, indeed, been the Subject of some part of my Enquiry; and, if I may be allow'd to declare my Sentiments freely, I think it a pity that a particular Brand of Infamy cannot be stamp'd upon every Author, without Distinction, who dares presume to impose Romance upon us, under the specious Title of true History. But some of his Admirers may be apt to say, in his Defence, that as his Two first Books are lost, we know not what Title he gave his Work; perhaps That which now goes for History, was only design'd for Romance, and what we call the Acts of Alexander, he might only stile the Adventures of Alexander.— Perhaps it might be so. However, as it now is, so grave a Title before so loose a Work, looks like a Bar-

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*Bar-Gown upon a Buffoon's Back, or a Cardinal's Hat upon the Head of a Monkey. I shall neither take up my own Time, nor tire out my Reader's Patience with much more concerning an Author, whom I have censured so freely elsewhere, but refer him to the Observations upon the ensuing Work. Had Mr. Le Clerc illustrated his Criticism with more Examples, there had been less Necessity for my Comment; and the more I have said there, the less I have occasion to say here. Allow me only to add the Character of Curtius, from Tellier, who was appointed to write Notes upon him in Usum Delphini: His Periods, says he, are generally round, and well turn'd, and his Cadences sweet and harmonious; his Wit is terse, and his Sense strong; his Language pure, and elegant, and his Thoughts refin'd. But among so many shining Qualities, (which, by the bye, are fitter for a Declaimer, than an Historian) he has many Blemishes; for he often runs counter to true History, and his Geography is frequently false: He has shew'd himself unskill'd in describing Battles, (which was the better half of his Task) and frequently confounds Truth with Fiction: He seems to have had but an ordinary Judgment, and strives more to tickle the Ear, than inform the Understanding: He describes Things rather as they might have been, than as they really were acted, and affects the artful Turn, and harmonious Cadence of his Periods too much: In his Descriptions, he is too poetical, and in his Speeches, too pedantick, and affected. Thus far Tellier: To which I hope*

**I**



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*I may add, that nigh One half of his Work is made up of Speeches which were never spoke, Letters which were never sent, and Descriptions of Mountains, Rivers, Towns, and Countries, whereof many are false, and the few that are true, nothing to his purpose, as an Historian; for they only serve to distract his Readers, and divert them from the main Story.*

*I shall conclude this Discourse with some Particulars of Arrian's Life, from Photius, Vossius, Boileau, Fabricius, and others. Under that learned Prince, (says Vossius, speaking of the Emperor Hadrian) flourished Arrian of Nicomedia, the celebrated Scholar of Epictetus. (Dio calls him, Flavius Arrianus Nicomedienfis) a Philosopher, an Historian, and, if some may be credited, an eminent Civilian. Suidas acquaints us, from Heliconius, that he attained even to the Consular Dignity, and that, for the Sweetness of his Stile, he was term'd another Xenophon. Photius agrees with him, and adds, that he was Priest to Ceres, and Proserpine. Lucian, in his Pseudomantes, assures us, that Arrian the Scholar of Epictetus, a Man of the first Rank in Rome, employed his whole Life in the Study of polite Literature, for which he was so particularly famous, (says Dio) that he was complimented with his Freedom both of Rome, and Athens. Arnobius mentions him towards the Close of his Second Book, and so does Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii. 19. & lib. xix. 1. Dio informs us, that he was advanced to be Prefect of Capadocia, and that he reduced the Alauni, and*  
Maffa-

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*Maſſagetæ. Pliny the Younger, who was then Proconſul of Pontus, and Bithynia, addreſs'd Seven of his Epiſtles to him; and this is the more probable, becauſe Arrian was not only a Native of Nicomedia, a City of Bithynia, but wrote the Bithynian and Alaunian Hiſtory, an Abridgment of the firſt of which, may be ſeen in Photius, and a Fragment of the laſt, in the Second Volume of Blancard's Edition of his Works. He wrote the Parthian Hiſtory, in Seventeen Books, an Extract whereof Photius has preſerved. We have Four Books of his Diſſertations on Epictetus; as alſo a Parapluſ, or Luſtration of the Coaſts of the Euxine and Red Seas, inſcribed to the Emperor Hadrian, if that Inſcription be genuine; (for Salmaſius imagines theſe to have been the Works of another, of the ſame Name, who flouriſhed from the Time of Nero to Veſpaſian) He wrote the Life of Dio the Syracuſian; an Account of Timoleon's Acts in Sicily; a Book of Taſticks; and a Treatiſe on Hunting, as a Supplement to Xenophon's Work upon the ſame Subject. His Indian Hiſtory we have entire, notwithstanding the Aſſertion of the learned Stuchius to the contrary; and Tzetzes, in Chil. iii. Hiſt. xcv. takes notice of his Hiſtory of Alexander. But Time has deprived us of all the Ten Books which he wrote of the Tranſactions after Alexander's Death, except a ſhort Abſtract preſerved by Photius. Allow me here to add the Character which Mr. Boileau has given us of our Author, in his Life of Epictetus, tranſlated by Dean Stanhope, p. xxii, xxiii. Of all the Scholars*

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lars of *Epictetus*, says he, *Arrian* is the only one, whose Name has been transmitted with Reputation to Posterity ; but he is such a one, as sufficiently demonstrates the Excellency of his Master, tho' we should suppose that He alone had been of his forming : For this is the very Person who was, afterwards, advanced to be *Preceptor* to *Antonine*, surnamed the *Pious*, and distinguish'd by the Title of *Xenophon*, because, like that Philosopher, he committed to Writing the Dictates deliver'd by his Master, in his Life-time, and publish'd them in One Volume, under the Name of *Epictetus* his Discourses or Dissertations, which, at present, we have in Four Books. After this, he compos'd a little Treatise call'd his *Enchiridion*, which is a short Compendium of all *Epictetus's* Philosophical Principles, and hath ever been acknowledged for one of the most valuable, and beautiful Pieces of antient Morality. He likewise wrote a large Book of the Life and Death of *Epictetus*, which is now unfortunately lost. And to shew how much he was of Opinion, our Author had oblig'd Mankind, he assures us, p. vi. that *Epictetus* left nothing of his own Composition behind him, and if *Arrian* had not transmitted to Posterity the Maxims taken from his Master's Mouth, we have some Reason to doubt, whether the very Name of *Epictetus* had not been lost to the World.

*This History of Alexander's Expedition was translated into Italian by Leo of Modena, and printed at Venice, Anno 1554. Claudius Vi-*  
tart

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*tart bestowed a French Version upon it, which was published at Paris, Anno 1581. and Ablancourt another, which has been reprinted three Times, and is accounted the best of his Performances. It has had Four Latin Translations; the first by Nicolaus Saguntinus; the second by Petrus Paulus Vergerius; the third by Bartholomæus Facius; and the fourth by Bonaventure Vulcanius. Mr. Fabricius imagines the two first never appeared in Publick, because he could not find them in any Library, nor even so much as mentioned in a Catalogue of Books. Facius's Translation is generally condemn'd, for his numerous Omissions, Interpolations, Mistakes, and wilful Deviations from his Original; besides which, he is often guilty of slightly skimming over whatever he did not fully understand. That of Vulcanius is the most esteem'd, and, for that Reason, annex'd to all the best Editions of our Author. How many Editions Arrian has had, I never had Curiosity enough to inquire; all I could procure, I made use of, particularly those of Henry Stephens, Blancard, and Gronovius; and have not only taken what was fit for my purpose, from the Annotations annex'd to each, but also from those of the best Editions of Curtius. I am as far from pretending that all these Observations are my own, as that they would be ever a whit the better if they were so; I acknowledge my Obligations to all my Assistants, and whoever has a mind to distinguish mine from theirs, may easily satisfy himself, by consulting the several Editions of Curtius, and Arrian, already mentioned.* As  
to

## P R E F A C E.

*to the Remarks upon Prodigies, Predictions, Omens, Auguries, Answers of Oracles, &c. they are my own. Whether Mr. Van Dale has taken notice of those particular Stories, in his History of Oracles, I know not; however, I had not that Treatise by me; and, indeed, I found no manner of Difficulty in giving a plain, and natural Solution of each of them, as fast as they came in my Way.*

*What Additions, Alterations, and Amendments I have made to Alexander's Genealogy; the Catalogue of Authors upon this History; the Account of the Division of the Empire after Alexander's Death; and Raderus's Tables, will be easily perceived by such of my Readers as are skill'd in the Latin Language, if they compare mine, with those in Snakenburgh's Edition of Curtius. The Chronological Table, which I have added at the End of the Second Volume, contains an Abstract of all the most memorable Facts mentioned in the History, in their due Order of Time, drawn chiefly from Arrian. Such of the Names of the Athenian Archons as he had passed by, I have supplied from Meursius's Treatise De Archontibus Atheniensium; the Roman Consuls from Diodorus, and the last Edition of Petavius's Rationarium Temporum: and for the Agreement between the Greek Calender and ours, I consulted Scaliger, Petavius, Potter, and especially the learned Usher, who has handled that Matter more fully and clearly than all others.*

*Whoever mention this History, bestow high Encomiums on its Author's Veracity, beyond any other*

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*other upon the Subject ; but as a long Detail of them would be tedious, I shall refer my Readers, for full Satisfaction, to Fabricius's Bibliothec. Græc. Tom. iii. The Consideration of his Veracity alone, induced me to undertake this Version, and to make the following Remarks, whereby I have been enabled to contradict many strange Stories, which have hitherto passed for Truths, and to bring some Truths to Light, which had lain long buried in Oblivion. I have taken upon me (as all Commentators do) to judge of the Probability of Facts, as related by the several Authors I have quoted, and shall now leave my Work to the Judgment of the wide World, without further Apology.*



A C R I-



A  
CRITICISM  
UPON  
QUINTUS CURTIUS.



CHAP. I.

*Of the Remarks necessary to be made upon an Author, in order to form a true Judgment of him; and of Quintus Curtius's Style, and Manner of Writing.*



THE Works of all Authors, may be examin'd, and ought to be scrutiniz'd by the Rules of Art, and those Laws of right Reason, which all Men acknowledge as such, without any Respect to the Countries they belong to, or the Age they live in. Whoever have observed these, throughout their Works, will receive an universal Approbation: But they are but few. However, all others, as far as they have observed them, we may praise, without Envy; and where they have transgress'd them, we may reprove without Vanity. Wherefore, we shall now proceed to bring *Curtius's* Work to the Test, and, as he professes himself an Historian, examine it by the Laws of History, and by the Rules of sound Reason, to which he, as well as we, ought always to be conformable.

[b]

a. Three

2. Three Things ought diligently to be considered, in order to obtain a thorough Knowledge of Authors. First, What Matter they chuse, for the Composition. Secondly, The Disposition of the Matter so chosen. And, Thirdly, Their Style or Elocution. In the first, and second of these Heads, the Learning and Judgment of an Author appears; in the third, his Wit, and Practice in Writing. Nothing else can be sought for, in a Writer: and if we be once perfect Masters of these, we may justly affirm, that the Learning, the Judgment, and Wit of any Author lie open to us; if otherwise, we determine rashly, and inconsiderately; and are wholly at a Loss, both as to their Style, and Reasoning. But to come to a present Knowledge of these Particulars, 'tis not sufficient to give an Author's Works one or two transient Readings, while, perhaps, we are taken up with other Concerns, or even with a Design to be inform'd on what Subject he treats, or to imitate whatever is graceful in his Style, or the Disposition of his Matter; but we ought, after having once or twice carefully perus'd a Work, to examine it thoroughly, and treasure up whatever is fitly and properly express'd, and what otherwise, in our Memory, or commit them to Writing. And if we desire to be accurate in our Observations, we must trace our own Footsteps over again, and alter, or erase whatever may have been hastily, or inadvertently put down; or add any thing material, which may then occur to our Memory. If we proceed by any other Method, how attentively soever we may read an Author's Works over, we shall never be able to form a right Judgment concerning him. As to the History of *Quintus Curtius*, I had read him more than once, before I made these Remarks, concerning his Work; which I shall give an Account of, in their Order. I was, at first, so amazed with the Greatness of the Acts, he every where describes, and cajoled with the Elegancy of his Style, that I saw nothing but the Magnanimity, Glory, and Success of *Alexander*, nor hardly listen'd to any thing but the lofty Expressions of an Author well skill'd in Rhetorick.

3. But when I came, afterwards, to read *Curtius*, not with a Design of knowing these Things, wherewith I was acquainted before, but of examining every Part of his Work by the severe Laws of History, and the unerring Rule of Truth and Justice, I soon made these Remarks, which are the Subject of this Essay; and wherein, I presume, I have so fully shewn his Beauties, as well as Blemishes, that every



every one, who takes and examines his Work, will easily and readily acknowledge the Justice I have done him.

4. But, that I may proceed to delineate those Things as in Miniature, I take *Curtius*, whoever he was, (for I profess myself ignorant of that) to have applied himself closely, and with great Diligence, to the Study of Rhetorick; and it is not improbable, that he might be a Professor of it, as an Art, and teach it to others. He seems also to have been of Opinion, that none of all the *Latin* Historians had handled the glorious Acts of *Alexander* the *Macedonian*, as the Dignity of the Matter required; for which Reason, he attempted the Task, and made choice of this Subject, not so much with a Design of transmitting a just and accurate History of *Alexander's* Exploits, down to Posterity, (tho' he had that also in View) as of giving the World a Specimen of his Oratory: for which Reason, he has not gone about to describe the Acts of the great Conqueror of *Asia*, in the Manner which a curious Observer of all Particulars, should have done; but rather, as he imagined they ought to be described by a Rhetorician. On this account, he has, every where, taken occasion to interlard his History with Speeches, and those, not in such a Style, as suited the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who were, most of them, unletter'd, and better skill'd in Arms, than Arts; but in the Style and Manner of a lazy Rhetorician, who had spent all his Days in a School, and lived the Life of a Recluse. The Narrative Parts of his Work, please us not so much by their own native Simplicity, or the Accuracy of the Description, as by the Beauty, and Brightness of his Words, and a certain Heat of Style, which runs throughout the whole, and which never cools, nor is ever less polished, or any where suffered to languish. But whenever the least Opportunity of Description offers itself, you there behold the Man, greedily laying open all his Art, even where other Historians are silent, or, at least, satisfy themselves, where the Subject is so copious, with a bare and natural Relation of the Things, without any far-fetch'd Garniture, to set it off. As for Example: How many florid Descriptions of Rivers has he given us, as tho' he had design'd to send his Work among the thirsty Inhabitants of the inner Parts of *Lybia*, who never saw one; and by the virtue of his Descriptions, to give them some Remedy against the broiling Heats of their Climate. But inasmuch as the Things to be described, are not always, of themselves, so great, as to strike the Reader with Surprise, and Astonishment, he there

swells his Style with Hyperboles, which Boys, indeed, may admire, but Men of ripe, and establish'd Judgment must needs laugh at. In a Word, he every where shews himself a most elegant Declaimer, and one perfectly well qualified to supply Words, and Sentences, and Flowers of Rhetorick to adorn School-boys Orations, and embellish their Style in Writing: And that, perhaps, was his only Design, in this Treatise.

5. But throughout his whole Work, the Historian scarce any where appears, whose particular Province is to examine every thing relating to his Subject, and select only such as are fit for his Purpose; never to descend to Trifles, nor throw away his Wit, in the Descriptions of Things which every body else knows, as well as he; to form a true Judgment between Things credible, and incredible, and either wholly to omit the latter, or, in few Words, expose them, but to be clear, and just in describing the former; who not only brands those flagrant and conspicuous Vices of Drunkenness, Cruelty, and Arrogance, but also unmasks those more secret ones, which screen themselves under the Names of Virtues, and exposes them to publick Censure. Such was the unsatiable Ambition which so harass'd *Alexander*, and his ungovernable Thirst of waging War. One who carefully treasures up all Circumstances of Things, Men, and Places, of whatsoever kind, and makes use thereof in his lively Descriptions of Actions, that thereby the Reader may come to a more perfect Knowledge of what he designs to communicate. One who relates all Things according to the due Order of Time, when they happened, that his Reader may clearly distinguish the Year, and Season of each particular Action. One who accommodates his Style to his Subject, and not his Subject to his Style: And, lastly, one who looks upon Truth as a Goddess, whose Priest he is, and offers his Oblations to her, in a simple, and unaffected Manner, according as the Deity requires, and his sacred Office directs.

6. That these, and such like, are the Defects of *Quintus Curtius's* History, is manifest; but 'tis better to descend to the several Particulars themselves, than by dwelling too long on general Heads, to stir up those, who may be still his Admirers, against us. We shall therefore shew, first, Where he is deficient in the Choice of his Matter. Secondly, Where he errs, in the Disposition of his Matter, so chosen. And, lastly, describe the Blemishes in his Style, and Manner of Elocution. In all which Particulars, we shall

shall have that Regard to our Reader, as well as ourselves, that we will neither pass over any thing of Importance, nor heap up a mighty Mass, of whatever might be said on the Subject.

7. And here, we think it necessary, in few Words, to declare, (if any Declaration in that Case, will be thought sufficient) that no premeditated Malice, nor Envy engaged us in this Undertaking. I solemnly aver, that whatever I here write, is not written and published with any Design to detract from the real Excellencies, and undoubted Worth of *Curtius*, or to deter our Youth from reading him, and such like Authors. His Eloquence I have, every where, commended, and the wise Sayings which are interspers'd in his Works, I have all along approved; and for the sake of these, he deserves, if possible, to be more read by Youth, and to be had in greater Esteem by Men of ripe Understandings. And this is my Opinion, as to all antient Authors of that Stamp, whatever they be. If any despise, or disdain them, as not eloquent or ingenious enough to deserve his Imitation, as to Elocution, or Invention, I shall never agree with him. I have always read such Authors with Pleasure, and am still, even at these Years, delighted with them; and this I declare to be the real, and unfeigned Sentiments of my Heart.

8. However, I would not advise our Youth, or those whom riper Years have not raised much above them, in Understanding, to imbibe the Faults of the Antients, along with their Beauties, and set up for Admirers, of what are so far from meriting Applause, that they will hardly admit of any Excuse. Such, are many Passages in *Curtius*, contrary to all the Laws of true, and undoubted History, and Reason. He may, indeed, be pardoned, in regard to his other Excellencies; but will never be commended for such Defects.

9. Neither are those People of a different Opinion from me, however they may seem to be so, who condemn those Things in modern Performances, which they will not allow as Faults in antient Authors. This Practice of theirs, is in itself unjust, and which no Mask will so cover, as to screen them from the Observation of wise Judges. Nay, what is still more, they vilify, and detract from the Moderns, because they know they may hurt them, while they will not suffer the Antients to be justly censured, when such Censure is so far from hurting them, that it is of the highest Importance to their Readers, to hinder them from imitating what

they ought studiously to avoid. It were better, in my mind, not to read the Antients at all, than to read them as those People would persuade us, I mean, without forming a Judgment of them; for by so doing, we shall only be greater Fools than before. But they are to be read, and that with Care, if I judge right, that so we may imitate their Excellencies; and avoid their Defects, at the same time that we excuse them. After this Manner, *Curtius*, and others of that sort, as I have already hinted, may be read with Profit and Pleasure, and no Mischief can accrue from our reading them. These Things, I thought fit to premise, to prevent Calumny; which, if I cannot appease, I shall, at least, endure with Patience: For to avoid Envy, is now, (as it always was, and will be) too difficult a Task, for one, who employs his Time in the Study of Literature.



## CH A P. II.

*Quintus Curtius committed many Mistakes in his History, by reason of his Ignorance in Astronomy and Geography.*

**I** SHALL here begin with those Passages, which deserve justly to be censured, and condemned in *Curtius's* History; and, tho' I am far from being of the Opinion of those, who are for having an Historian thoroughly vers'd in all the Sciences, which he may have occasion, at any time, to discourse about, yet it were to be wish'd, that he had learn'd, at least, the Rudiments of some of the Liberal Sciences; which would have hinder'd him from betraying such gross Ignorance, and taught him how to shun falling into manifest Absurdities, when he was obliged to touch upon them. Or, if he must write about what he understood not, he might have made use of the Assistance of those who had. There are two Arts, which are near of Kin, and one of them is absolutely necessary to an Historian, and the other, very often, useful; neither of which, *Curtius* was, in the least measure, acquainted with: those are, Astronomy, and Geography; of both which, he every where shews himself entirely ignorant.

2. I shall demonstrate what I have here asserted, by Examples, and first shew, that he who could believe, that the \* Moon was eclipsed, not only when the Earth overshadow'd her, but also when the Sun press'd her; so *Curtius* speaks, concerning an † Eclipse of the Moon, which happen'd at the Time when *Alexander* was upon his March to fight the second Battle with *Darius*. "They (says he, namely, "the *Egyptians*) who well know, that the Planets perform their appointed Courses, and that the Moon is "eclipsed, either when she is overshadow'd by the Earth, or "press'd by the Sun; do not, however, declare the Reasons of these Phænomena to the Vulgar." These Things *Curtius* himself was ignorant of, however he might have taken it amiss, to have been rank'd among the unletter'd Multitude. *Mattheus Raderus* would have the Change of the Moon, to be understood by this Pression of the Sun; that is, when the Moon is nearest the Sun, and turns her whole bright Face that Way. But none, besides himself, ever call'd that an Eclipse of the Moon; neither, as I suppose, her nearest Approach to the Sun, a Pression of the Sun. This is so far from being the Language of one vers'd in Astronomy, that it plainly proves him ignorant, even of the Terms of Art. The Change of the Moon none wonders at, as happening monthly; but Eclipses, as being less frequent, strike the Vulgar with Astonishment.

3. From this his Ignorance in Astronomy, he has given us Descriptions of Countries false, and erroneous, because he knew not under what Climate they lay, or how far distant from the *Æquator*. Thus he describes the Territories of the *Parapamisans*. "They are seated chiefly beneath "the most rigid Northern Clime, being join'd to the *Bactrians* Westerly, and the *Indian Ocean* washing their "South Borders." And a little after, "The Vines, and "Trees, if any can stand such Severity of Weather, are buried, and lie, all Winter, wholly cover'd with Snow; "but when that dissolves, and the Earth begins to appear, "they again enjoy the Benefit of the Sun, and open Air. "But so deep are the Snows, which lie there, and so rigid "are the Frosts, and of such long Continuance, that scarce "so much as any Marks of a Footstep of Man or Beast is "to be found. A dusky Shadow of the Sky, or a kind of "Twilight, rather than Light itself, dwells among them,

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 10. 5. † *Ibid.* lib. vii. cap. 3.

“ infomuch that they can scarce difcern Things very near them.” I fhall forbear tranfcribing any more of this Stuff, which is beyond all Sufferance. Who would not imagine, that *Curtius* had been, all this while, describing *Tibule*, or fome Tract of Land within the Arctick Circle, or adjacent to the Pole? But *Alexander* never reach’d the Northern Borders of *Scythia*, and but juft touch’d upon the moft Southern Parts: Befides, the *Parapamisans* joining upon *Bactria*, are under a very mild, and happy Climate, as being placed between the Thirty-fourth, and Fortieth Degree of North Latitude, equal to the moft Southerly Parts of *Greece*, where the Heat is much more to be fear’d, than the Winter Cold, which is neither fevere, nor of long Continuance. Thofe Countries, now, go under the Name of *Mauvaralnabram*; their Capital City is *Smarcanda*; they produce great Plenty of all Neceffaries for Life, as they who have travell’d them, abundantly testify. But if you had rather place the *Parapamisans* further to the Eaft, they will be the Inhabitants to the North of *Cabul*, and *Caffemira*, which are mountainous Countries, cover’d with continual Snows, and confequently, cold. But then, thofe Mountains themfelves are uninhabited; and in the Valleys, where the Inhabitants are, the Snows fall not in fuch Quantities, nor lie fo long, as we may eafily perceive in our own Country, near *Geneva*, where Mountains lie to the Eaftward, call’d the *Cursed Hills*, cover’d with perpetual Snow; but then, no Inhabitants dwell upon them, nor no Vines grow there, but only in the Valleys. Befides, it is evident, that *Curtius* did not describe the rigid Cold in thofe Parts, as occafion’d fo much by the Winters, or Snows, as by their Vicinity to the Pole, infomuch that they had only Twilight, inftead of Day. This, to fay no worfe of it, is a direct Blunder; for the Winter Nights are not longer there, than in *Italy*. Which ought to be well obferved; for we do not fo much find fault with his describing the Cold in thefe Places, as with his representing it fo bitter, and fevere, and arifing from the Length of their Nights, as if they had been placed within the Arctick Circle. But of this we have difcourfed more at large, in *French*, in our *Bibliotheca Selecta*, Tome III. p. 221. &c. If you have ftill a Defire to underftand the Situation of thofe Countries, more accurately, *Abulfeda’s Arabick* Description of them, publish’d by *John Grævius*, will give you full Satisfaction.

4. But what goes beyond his erroneous Descriptions of Places, is, that the fame Author, who, under the moft benign

benign Clime, could find a Frigid Zone, and *Cimmerian* Darkness, has found a Torrid Zone in Countries much further North; for thus he describes *Alexander's* March thro' the Desarts of *Sogdia*, a little after: \* "The Rays of the Summer's Sun, heat the Sands, which, as soon as they begin to be scorch'd, burn every thing as with a continual Fire. Then the Vapours sent forth by the immoderate Heat of the Earth, obscure it; insomuch that the Surface thereof appears like a vast, and unbounded Ocean. Their March by Night was, indeed, tolerable—— but the Heats commence with the Light, and suck up all the Moisture of the Earth, &c." He could have given no other Description of a Journey thro' the Southern Bounds of *Persia*, or to the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Arrian's* Account of *Alexander's* Return, thro' the *Gadrosian* Desarts, in his Sixth Book, is not unlike this; but then, these People inhabit the most Southern Parts of the *Persian* Empire, towards the *Indian* Ocean. Perhaps *Curtius* might mistake the *Sogdians* for the *Gadrosians*, or copy from some Author who did, without being able to distinguish the space of Time which pass'd between these two Expeditions.

5. From his Ignorance in Astronomy, proceeded those strange Stories of Wonders, which he introduces *Alexander's* Soldiers giving an Account of, at the River *Hyphasis*: † "Thou now preparest to pass into another World, and seekest an *India* unknown to the *Indians* themselves, where wild Beasts have their Habitations, and Serpents their Holes, and Lurking-places. Thou even desirest to extend thy Conquests further than the Sun does its Course." This Hyperbole had scarce been tolerable, if they had only said, "Thou endeavourest to conquer what ever the Sun encompasses:" But here, the *Macedonians* are afraid to be led into Lands, which the Sun never saw; as if they had observed less Sun, or a different one to arise in *India*, from that in *Macedonia*. One but indifferently skill'd in the Principles of Astronomy, would never have introduced any Persons speaking so absurdly. But lest you should suppose, this only happen'd to slip from his Pen, as by Chance, and he was not pleas'd with it, he repeats the same again, afterwards. For the || *Macedonians* again complain, "That they are drawn beyond the Stars, and Sun,

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\* *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 5. † *Ibid.* lib. ix. cap. 3. || *Ibid.* lib. ix. cap. 4, 18.

“ and forced to visit those Parts, which Nature designed to  
 “ screen from mortal Eyes.” That nothing remains for them,  
 after the Conquest of so many Countries, “ except Fogs,  
 “ and Darknefs, and a perpetual Night, brooding upon the  
 “ Deep ; a Sea stock’d with vast Numbers of cruel, and  
 “ unheard-of Monsters ; the Waters whereof were immove-  
 “ able, and where Nature herself languished, and died.”  
 These Complaints might have had some colour of Reason,  
 had they been made by the *Macedonians*, when they march’d  
 directly North from the *Caspian* Sea, for some Months, in  
 the Winter Season ; for then they had seen the Nights in-  
 creased beyond their usual Length, and the Cold intensely  
 sharp. But when they travell’d towards the South, and  
 saw the Sun every Day higher above their Heads than other,  
 and the Heats increas’d proportionably, there could be no  
 suspicion of eternal Night, an immoveable Ocean, or dying  
 Nature among them : but a Man who is perpetually in the  
 declaiming Vein, could not omit so fine an Opportunity of  
 displaying his Talent.

Compare these, with the first Suasory, which *M. Ann.  
 Seneca* has collected from the Declaimers, and they will be  
 found near of Kin ; and perhaps these were copied from  
 them. There, while *Alexander* stands deliberating, whe-  
 ther he shall attempt to sail upon the Ocean or no, *Avitus*  
 dissuades him in these Words : “ The Sea there stands im-  
 “ moveable ; and Nature, as if at her last Gasps, a lifeless  
 “ Mass. Strange, and terrible are the Beasts there bred,  
 “ and vast are the Monsters which the Ocean produces,  
 “ and that Mass of Waters nourishes. The Light is there  
 “ obscured by Mists, and the Day shut up with Darknefs :  
 “ The Sea itself is sluggish, and unactive ; and there are  
 “ either no Stars, or what Stars are there, are unknown.”  
*Oscus* adds, “ ’Tis now Time for *Alexander* to end his  
 “ Expedition, where the Bounds of the Earth appear, and  
 “ the Sun ends his Race, &c. We know not what it is,  
 “ which Nature has withdrawn from human Eyes, because  
 “ an eternal Darknefs conceals it. Then the Muse, or  
 Chorus, proceeds, “ The monstrous Size of the Beasts, and  
 “ the immoveable Waters of the Deep declare, O *Alexander*,  
 “ that there is nothing left for thee to conquer further ;  
 “ therefore return.” All these are manifest Errors, to any  
 one but meanly vers’d in Astronomy : however, undoubt-  
 edly, they appear’d beautiful Passages to *Curtius*, or he  
 would never have imitated them.



6. If any should object, that Astronomy was not sufficiently known, in the Age when *Curtius* lived; and if we go back as high as *Alexander's* Time, the Knowledge thereof was much less; and that therefore *Curtius*, and *Alexander's* Soldiers might, without Disgrace, make use of such Speeches; I answer, that Astronomy was little known, or studied by Rhetoricians; but *Ptolemy's* Writings, which are not much later than *Curtius*, evidently demonstrate, that such childish Expressions might have been avoided; neither was *Ptolemy* the Inventor of that Science, but only the Polisher, and Improver. And as for *Alexander's* Soldiers, they could not have been guilty of such Fooleries, among whom were *Chaldeans*, and *Egyptians*, expert in Astronomy, besides many of the Inhabitants bordering upon those very Parts, where these Monsters should have been produced. *Arrian*, indeed, introduces *Cernus* dissuading *Alexander* from attempting any further Progress, towards the End of his Fifth Book; but he uses none of those Discourses of Wonders, which could only be hatch'd in the Brain of idle, and unskill'd Rhetoricians.

7. *Joseph Scaliger*, in his Book *De Emendatione Temporum*, lib. xi. p. 118. the last Edition, produces these Words of *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 9. towards the Close of the Chapter, concerning the *Indian* Months: " Their Months, says he, are divided into Fifteen Days each, and " by that means the full Space of their Years is measured. " They note their Time by the Course of the Moon, not " as most Nations, when that Planet shews a full Face, but " when she begins to appear horned; for which Reason, " they have shorter Months, who divide them according to " this Appearance of the Moon, than the other. Upon this, *Scaliger* observes, " They must certainly have shorter " Months than other Nations, if theirs consist of no more " than Fifteen Days. But how come they to commence " their Account from the Moon in her Increase, and Decrease, and not as well from the Full, and Change? and " if from the Full, how can that Part of his Discourse be " consistent, where he says, When the Planet shews a full " Face? When can this be, but at full Moon? Again, if " only Fifteen Days be allowed to each Month, how will " he always keep exactly to the Number, so as not to depart from his Lunar Months, at the alternate Full and " Change?— And if he always reckons from the Moon's appearing horned, how will the exact Number of Fifteen " Days be preserved, as that Author, otherwise very elo-  
quent,

“quent, has endeavoured to shew, but they will consist of “Thirty, and One and thirty Days.” *Matthæus Raderus* endeavours to explain *Curcius*, as if he design’d to demonstrate, that one Month begun, and was understood to commence a little after the Change to the Full Moon, and the next, from the Time when she begun to decrease, to the next Change. This, indeed, ought to be his Meaning; but it is strangely express’d, when he tells us, that the Moon begins to shew herself horned, on the Sixteenth Day; when ’tis evident, she does not appear so, till about seven Days after Full Moon. But before *Raderus*, *Thomas Lydiat* had try’d to solve the Matter otherways. However, *Scaliger*, in his *Prolegomena* to his *Canones Isagogicæ*, p. 11. has plainly shew’d, that *Lydiat* neither understood *Curcius*, nor *Curcius* the Author which he copied from. The antient *Persians* counted Fifteen Days to each of their Months, and Twenty-four of these Months to the Solar Year, before the Introduction of *Mohammedism*, as *John Chardin* evidently demonstrates, in his *Itinerarium Persicum*, Tome XI. p. 14. *Quarto*.

8. But now to proceed to Geography, which, as it relates to the Description and Situation of Countries, was much later than Astronomy; *Curcius* has committed vast, and unpardonable Errors herein. None can deny, but that this is almost as necessary to an Historian, as the other, because, without a true Knowledge thereof, the Marches of Armies must, necessarily, be wrong described, and a Reader who is unacquainted with the Situation of Countries, will be deceived. *Curcius* has failed exceedingly in this Point; and unless his Readers consult some more able Geographer than he, they will infallibly be led astray. *Polybius*, before he presumed to put a Hand to the writing his History, was willing to view the chief Places, whereof he intended to treat, lest he should fall into Mistakes, as the antient Historians had done, when the Situation of Places was less known. “\* Why, says he, have we endured so many Hazards, and “so much Toil, as a Journey thro’ *Africa*, *Spain*, and “*France*, and a Voyage thro’ the Seas which wash their “Shores requires, but upon this Motive, that we might “thereby correct the Errors of the Antients, who under- “took to describe those Parts, and display the Knowledge “of them to the *Greeks* of our Country?” And having

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\* *Polyb. lib. iii. p. 293. Edit. Amst.*

before discoursed concerning *Hannibal's* Passage over the *Alps*, \* “ We write of these Things, says he, with the greater Confidence, as having learned them from Men who lived in those Times; and we travell'd to the *Alps*, on purpose to view those Places, and to know the Truth of what we should relate.” And *Diodorus Siculus*, towards the Beginning of his History, “ Thro' many Dangers, and with much Toil, we have travell'd over a great Part of *Asia*, and *Europe*, that we might see the chiefest, and most necessary Places: for sundry gross Errors proceed from the Want of Knowledge of Countries, not only among the meaner Writers, but even among some, who have acquired a great Share of Glory, and Esteem.” These Things, 'tis plain, cannot well be wanting in any Historian: but *Curtius* appears never so much as to have read one Geographical Treatise, of those Countries which *Alexander* subdued; tho', undoubtedly, many were then extant, written at that Time, besides those we still have, which are older than *Curtius*. However, he seems to have studied nothing less, than to describe the Countries he had occasion to treat of, with Accuracy, as will evidently appear, by examining him.

9. *Claudius Salmasius*, in his Exercises upon *Pliny*, Chap. 40. p. 582. *Utrecht* Edition, has, long ago, observed, that *Curtius* trifled in the first Chapter of his Third Book, and confounded the two Rivers *Lycus*, and *Marsyas*; whereas *Marsyas* runs by *Apamea*, and *Lycus* washes *Laodicea*. However, a few Mistakes in the Descriptions of smaller Rivers, might be forgiven; but his other Errors, which strike at the very Roots of all Geography, can never be pardoned. Hear *Lucian*, discoursing concerning the writing of true History: “ In the Survey of Places, says he, to falsify not only Miles, but whole Days Marches, is a Property of some of our noted Historians.” *Curtius's* Description of the Situation of the celebrated Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was so well known, shews that both the Climate, and the Countries adjacent, were utterly unknown to him: † “ There, says he, is a wonderful Mildness of the Skies, and all Seasons of the Year smile with the like Face, as if there were a perpetual Spring.” Who, unless he is absolutely unacquainted with the very Elements of Geography, but must know, that this is not the Tem-

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\* *Lib. iii. p. 280.* † *Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 7. 17.*

perature of the inner Parts of *Lybia*, about the Twenty-eighth Degree of North Latitude? But this is deem'd a Miracle, and attributed to the Presence of the God, by some Writers, whom *Curcius* has childishly followed, who chuse not to fill their Histories with the truest Accounts of Things, but the strangest. \* *Diodorus Siculus* has also given us the like Description, perhaps from the same Hands; but † *Arrian*, a Man of much better Judgment than either of them, has wholly omitted such Trifles.

10. *Curcius* describes the Situation of the bordering Nations thus; "To the Eastward, lie the *Æthiopians*; to the Southward, the *Arabians*, or *Troglodytæ*, whose Country extends to the *Red Sea*; to the Westward, dwell those *Æthiopians* who are called *Scenitæ*; to the Northward, are the *Nasamones*, whose Coast is full of Quick-sands, and whose Inhabitants live by the Spoils of the Ocean; for they watch the Shores, and seize upon such Ships as happen to be left dry at low Water, upon the Shallows, which they are well acquainted with." Let any one look into the Tables of *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who was much better skill'd in those Parts than he, and he will soon perceive, that the *Nitriotæ*, and *Oasitæ* dwelt towards the East, then those of Higher *Ægypt*, and lastly, the *Arabians*, who were named *Troglodytæ*, whom *Curcius* erroneously places towards the South, and makes them possess a Tract much more extensive, than they really did. Towards the South, were first the *Lybians*, then the more remote *Æthiopians*. Towards the West, the *Nasamones*; and whether their Country reach'd to the Quick-sands or no, I know not. Towards the North, were the *Lybians*, who bordered upon *Ægypt*, and held the whole Maritime Country between *Alexandria* and *Cyrene*. *Diodorus* describes the Situations of these Parts somewhat different; however, he approaches much nearer to this, than to *Curcius's* Geography: "The *Æthiopians*, says he, have their Habitation towards the South, and West; the *Lybians*, a wandering Race, towards the North; but the *Nasamones* take up the whole Tract, along the Sea-coast." This last Part is less accurate than the former; for the North-Borders and the Sea-coast are the same; and the *Nasamones* ought rather to have been placed towards the West; besides, *Diodorus* has wholly omitted telling us, who inhabited to the Eastward of the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon*.

\* *Lib. xvii. p. 527.* † *Initio, lib. iii.*

11. *Curtius* describes *Alexander's* March from *Assyria* towards *Babylon*, and the Course of the *Tygris* and *Euphrates*, never a whit better. After he has told us, that *Arbela* was taken, he says, *Alexander* march'd with his Army straight to *Babylon*, and begins the Description of that March thus: \* "On their Left Hand, as they travell'd along, " was *Arabia*, famous for its Fertility in Spices, and all " their Road was thro' a champaign Country." It is past Dispute, that *Curtius* here means, that Part of *Arabia* which was next to *Euphrates*, which he unfortunately mistakes for the Spice-bearing Region, or that Part which is usually called *Arabia the Happy*, when, in reality, 'tis *Arabia Deserta*. Then he places *Arabia*, falsely, upon their Left Hand, as they march'd from *Assyria* towards *Babylon*. *Arabia Deserta* is indeed on the Right Hand; but *Arabia Felix* is a vast Way distant to the South. Besides, when *Alexander* had routed *Darius* at *Arbela*, he must pass the *Tygris*, and march Westward, if, as *Curtius* says, he went from thence straight to *Babylon*. He rather pass'd thro' *Assyria* to the *Tygris*, and thence thro' *Mesopotamia* to *Babylon*. So that all this while, as they march'd Southward, *Arabia* was far distant on their Right Hand. However, I am not insensible, that in the Time of *Xenophon*, the Border of *Mesopotamia*, as far as the *Euphrates*, was also called *Arabia*, and described as a Spicy Region, as is manifest from *Book I. Chap. 5. 1.* of *Cyrus's* Expedition. But the same Author says, that the River *Euphrates* was on their Right Hand, as they march'd thro' the Country Southward. I know some have a mind to read *Aturia* here, instead of *Arabia*; but *Aturia*, or *Assyria*, was rather on their Right Hand than their Left, as they travell'd from *Arbela* to *Babylon*; and besides, the mention of the Spices growing there, evidently shews, he designed it for *Arabia*.

12. Of the *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, a little after, he thus speaks: " These Rivers arise out of the Mountains of *Armenia*, and after a vast Separation of their Waters, per- " form their Course.—— The same Rivers, when they " enter the Countries of *Media*, and the *Gordiani*, begin " to contract their Streams, &c." This may be said of the *Gordiani*, but not of *Media*, which *Euphrates* does not touch, nor even *Tygris*, which runs much more Eastward. *Tygris*, indeed, washes the Western Parts of *Assyria*; but

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\* *Curtius, lib. v. cap. 1. 11.*

it is some Days Journey distant from the Confines of *Media*. I know *Diodorus Siculus*, in his Second Book, speaking of these Rivers, says, that \* “After they have run through *Media*, and *Paratacene*, they fall into *Mesopotamia*.” But he is no less in an Error than *Curtius*, and may easily be confuted, by the Authority of all Geographers, both ancient and modern. *Ptolemy* calls the Northern Tract of *Persia*, *Paratacene*, and that the *Tygris* reaches those Parts, none ever yet imagined.

13. As *Curtius* has made the Course of these two noble Rivers much longer than, in reality, it is ; so he sometimes makes the Tracts of Land, whereof he treats, much larger than they ought to be ; for when he comes to speak of *Bactria* ; † “The Country, says he, over which they presided, made them haughty ; it gives Place to none, either for Arms, Men, or the Extent of its Territories ; for it takes up the third Part of *Asia*.” This is such a thundering Stretch, as never enter’d into the Head of any Geographer, and which none, but our Romancing Historian, could have dream’d of.

14. But *Curtius* is abundantly the furthest mistaken, in confounding the *Euxine* Sea with the *Caspian*, and Mount *Caucasus* with *Parapamisus* ; which Error has made strange Work among all the adjacent Regions. I know he was led into this Mistake by some of the *Greek* Writers ; but unless he had been utterly ignorant in Geography, he could never have suffered himself to have been so imposed upon. *Eratosthenes* the *Cyrenean*, one of those who wrote the History of *Alexander*’s Actions, has, long ago, corrected this Error, with whom (which is wonderful) *Arrian*, an Author otherways of extraordinary Judgment, seems almost afraid to comply, notwithstanding the Thing is so evident. *Eratosthenes* has inform’d us, that the *Macedonians*, in order to set *Alexander* upon a Level with *Bacchus*, and *Hercules*, spread false Reports, that he had carried on his Victories to the same Places, where they formerly carried theirs : || “They (the *Macedonians*) transferr’d Mount *Caucasus*, says he, from *Pontus* to the most Easterly Parts of the Earth, and the Country of *Parapamisus* to *India*, in their Speeches, and called *Parapamisus* by the Name of *Caucasus*, for no other Reason, but to enhance the Glory of *Alexander*,”

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\* Pag. 99. Edit. Rhod. † *Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 10. 3. || *Apud Arrianum*, lib. v. cap. 3.

“ who had now passed beyond it.” *Strabo* has made the same Observation, in his Geography, lib. xi. p. 348. *Casaub. Edit. Genev.*

15. This Error has occasioned many others, which owe their Rise as to this Fountain, and are to be found every where scattered about; in *Curtius*. We shall produce some Examples, from whence our Readers may form a Judgment of the rest. *Darius*, in some of his Epistles to *Alexander*, stuff'd with the Air of a Rhetorician, very unbecoming the Gravity of a Monarch, is introduced saying, that “ *Alexander* must pass over the *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, and *Araxes* :” as if the *Araxes* were further Eastward than the *Tigris* ; when it is a River of *Armenia*, flowing from the West, into the *Caspian Sea*, to the South of Mount *Caucasus*. Or if by the *Araxis* there, any *Persian* River be meant, it must be too mean, and inconsiderable, to be join'd with *Tigris*, and *Euphrates*. A little after, the same *Darius*, degrading himself from the Dignity of a *Persian* Monarch, to a Disclaimer, ignorant of *Asia*, asks *Alexander*, \* “ How he proposes to reach the *Sogdians*, and *Arachosians*, Nations only known by Name, and others, as far as *Caucasus*, and *Tanais* ?” when he himself was not at a much less Distance from *Caucasus*, and *Tanais*, than *Alexander* ; but because *Tanais* was known to be beyond *Caucasus*, towards the North, therefore that Mountain was removed into *Bactria*, in spite of Nature, in order to derive *Tanais* from thence. Again, the † *Cercete*, *Mosyni*, and *Chalybes*, Nations to the Eastward of the *Euxine Sea*, and the Southward of Mount *Caucasus*, are said to be on the Left Hand of *Hyrkania*, and on the other Hand, the *Leucosyrrians*, or *Cappadocians* ; and hence their Opinions may pass for probable, who imagine, that || “ the *Palus Maeotis* empties itself into the *Caspian Sea*.” Nay, he has been so daring, as to take whole Countries, and Rivers situate in *Lesser Asia*, to the Southward of the *Euxine Sea*, and transplant them into *Higher Asia*, to the Southward of the *Caspian Sea*. “ § The *Amazonians*, says he, border upon *Hyrkania*, and inhabit the Plains of *Themiscyra*, nigh the River *Thermoodon*.” Which City, and which River, every one knows, are in *Cappadocia* : and then, as tho' this Country, and *Colchos* had been the same; he adds, “ They had to

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\* *Curt. lib. vi. cap. 4. 4.* † *Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 4. 17.* || *Ibid. 18.*  
§ *Ibid. cap. 5. 24.*

“ their Queen, *Thalestris*, who held the Sovereignty of all  
 “ the Regions between Mount *Caucasus* and the River  
 “ *Phasis*.” Here he observes the true Situation of *Caucasus*. Another Error of his, is, when he asserts, that the Country of the \* *Arachosians*, borders upon the *Pontick*, or *Euxine Sea*.

16. Not long after, when he has finished his Account of the *Parapamisans*, whom he describes, much in the manner as we, at this Day, do the *Lapllanders*; he says, † “ The Army proceeded to *Caucasus*, whose high Back divides *Asia*, with one continued Ridge, so that from one Part thereof, the *Cilician Sea*, from another the *Caspian*, the River *Araxis*, and the Defarts of *Scythia* may be discerned.” Here, he manifestly confounds *Caucasus* with *Taurus*, as the least Inspection into a Geographical Chart will easily convince any one; but to make some amends, he places *Araxis* right here, whereas a little before, he spoke of it as tho’ it had been beyond *Tigris*. However, afterwards he distinguishes *Caucasus* from *Taurus*: “ *Taurus*, says he, the second Mountain for Bigness, and next to *Caucasus*, rises in *Cappadocia*, and passing thro’ *Cilicia*, joins with the Mountains of *Armenia*.” Not long after this, he falls into an unconscionable Mistake, by making the *Caspian* and *Hyrceanian*, two different Seas: || “ The greatest Part of the Rivers of *Asia*, discharge their Waters, some into the *Red Sea*, some into the *Caspian*, and others into the *Hyrceanian*, and *Pontick Seas*.” And, by and by, he tells us, that the § Winds blow off from the *Pontick Sea* into the Province of *Bactria*, (as if that Province were near it) and sweep away the Sands out of the Plains there.

17. When *Alexander* had pass’d the River *Oxus*, which is well known to fall into the *Caspian Sea*, to the Eastward, *Curtius* tells us, he pass’d on to the *Tanais*; as if there had been no River of Note between them. And here we can make no doubt, but he meant the *Tanais*, already spoken of; for he adds, “ that *Penidas*, one of *Alexander’s* Friends, was dispatch’d by him, to those *Scythians* who inhabit *Europe*, to warn them not to pass over the River *Tanais*, without the King’s Leave.” \*\* From this whole Story, it is manifest, *Curtius* thought that the River *Tanais*, which

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\* *Curt. lib. vii. cap. 3. 4.* † *Ibid. 19.* || *Ibid. 21.* § *Ibid. cap. 4. 27.* \*\* *Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 5, 6, 7, & 8.*



divided the *Bactrians* from the *Scythians*, also divided *Asia* from *Europe*; by which means, that vast Space between the *Palus Mæotis*, and the River *Taxyrtus*, which falls into the *Caspian Sea* Eastward, is quite thrown aside. A greater Mistake than this, can hardly be made; and we shall not throw away our own, nor our Reader's Time, to seek for more of this sort. Perhaps some may endeavour to excuse *Curtius*, by saying, that he was misled into this, and the like Errors, from the *Greek* Authors, which he copied after. This, indeed, may somewhat palliate his Crime, but can never excuse it; for it is not the Part of an Historian, to swallow whatever others have writ, without Examination. *Arrian*, towards the Conclusion of his Third Book, after he has given us an Account of this *Tanais*, assures us, that there is another River of the same Name, different from that which falls into the *Palus Mæotis*. From whatever has been observed upon this Article, it is evident, that *Curtius* had no Notion of the Situation of those Countries, which occasioned him to fall into perpetual Errors concerning them, and to be always guilty of mixing Things false, with what were true. Some have, indeed, been tampering with this Author, and trying, by their Emendations, or rather, wilful Depravations, to reconcile him to Geographical Truth, (as if any could doubt of his Unskilfulness in that Particular) and to amend many Passages, in spite of all the antient Manuscripts. Sure, if this be allowable, we shall henceforth (by the Criticks Assistance) read for antient Authors, not what the Antients wrote, but what they ought to have wrote, that is, what the modern Criticks are pleased to make them write.





## C H A P. III.

*Quintus Curtius made a bad Choice of the Authors he copied from, and gives us Fables for true History.*

**A**RRIAN, somewhere in his History, complains, that *Alexander's* Companions neither delivered the most faithful Accounts of what they knew for certain, nor the most probable Relations of Things whereof they were doubtful; and this he confirms, by an Example from *Ptolemy*, and *Aristobulus*: And there is scarce any, who has given himself the least Trouble to look into History, who has not met with many Instances of this sort.

2. There are two kinds of Men, who collect Histories from antient Monuments and Records, or, as *Herodian* says, in the Beginning of his Work, attempt to renew the Memory of old-done Deeds: One Part endeavour, as far as lies in their Power, to search out Truth, and spare no Pains to collect the best Materials, and give the most probable Narrations, when Certainty cannot be attained: Others, are not very solicitous for Truth, and therefore do not give themselves much Trouble in seeking after it, but chuse rather to write Things wonderful, and surprizing, because they are capable of receiving more Embellishment, and supply Matter for more lofty and exalted Language. Those, as the same Historian excellently expresses it, " whilst they " too greedily affect the Fame of being thought Learned, " and strive to save their Names from Oblivion, are less " studious in the Search after solid Truth, than a smooth, " and well-penn'd Discourse; imagining, undoubtedly, that " if what they wrote was not Truth, they could hardly be " contradicted, or brought in Question, in Ages remote " from theirs; and that, however, they should not fail to " be read, and admired, for the Sweetness, and Elegancy " of their Style."

3. Among the Number of these latter, *Curtius* may be justly rank'd; his Work betrays itself, tho' I should be silent; however, I shall produce a few Examples, and  
leave

leave the rest to be sought out by all such of my Readers, as shall think fit to give themselves the Trouble. In many Battles, where the *Macedonians* were Conquerors, he brings in the Numbers of the Slain, on the Enemies Side, plainly incredible; especially if they be compared with the fewness of the *Macedonians*, who are said to have fallen in the same Battle. In the Battle at \* *Iffus*, there fell of the *Persians*, according to his Account, an † Hundred thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse. A Number truly incredible in itself; for tho' the *Persians* were no ways comparable to the *Macedonians*, either in Valour, or Military Skill, yet they were not mere Sheep. But it will be still the more incredible, if, as *Curtius* says, "only Five hundred and four" were wounded on *Alexander's* Part, and that there were no "more than Thirty and two Foot slain, and about an Hundred and fifty Horse." To make this probable, we must either suppose the *Persians* to have fought with wooden Swords, and to have had neither Iron nor Steel fix'd to the Points of their Darts, or that the *Macedonians* were cover'd with Shields of *Vulcan's* hammering, upon which, all the Weapons framed by mortal Hands, were immediately broke. Then the *Macedonian* Swords, and Arrows, according to this Way of reckoning, ought not only to be of the choicest Steel, but never to be moved or thrown in vain. Nay, *Curtius* himself tells us, that not only *Oxashres*, the Brother of *Darius*, but others of the *Persian* Nobility, made a brave Resistance, round the King's Person, and fought desperately; and that on the Right Wing, the *Persian* Horse had the better. There were, moreover, no more than Thirty thousand *Greeks* in that Battle, which were not nigh equal to the Numbers of the Enemy which fled. Who, after all this, can forbear thinking, that the *Persians* fought only in jest with the *Greeks*, at least for some Time, when the *Macedonians* could come so well off, as not to lose above Two hundred Men? I own, other Historians do not differ much from him; they do not make the Number slain on the *Persian* Side much fewer, nor the *Macedonians* many more; but an accurate Historian would declare, that he did not easily give Credit to such Relations; and if he could find no Numbers which were a little more within the Compass of Credibility, would freely own, that, according to the best of his Judgment, the Authors he was forced

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 31. 27.

to borrow his Accounts from, had exceeded the Measures of Truth. \* *Arrian* tells us, that One hundred thousand *Persians* were slain in that Battle, among whom were Ten thousand Horse; but he omits telling us the Number of *Macedonians* which fell, undoubtedly, because he was ashamed of the Folly of those, who went before him, and reckon'd them no more than Two or Three hundred Men.

4. In another Battle, wherein *Alexander* utterly defeated *Darius*, and his Forces, and in which the *Persians* are said to have fought desperately, "There fell, says *Curtius*, of the *Persians*, according as the Conquerors were able to compute their Numbers, Forty thousand; and of the *Macedonians*, almost Three hundred." The Disparity of those Numbers, is really incredible, tho' they are far more likely, than the other. † But *Arrian* here forgets himself strangely, and, without any regard to his Judgment, tells us, that Three hundred thousand *Persians* are said to have fallen that Day; and of the *Macedonians*, about an Hundred. But he may be pardoned this Fault, for he rarely offends thus; neither from one single Slip, can any Judgment be form'd of the remaining Part of his History.

5. But *Curtius* has not only such Stories in his Accounts of Battles between the *Persians* and *Macedonians*, but also in those between the *Macedonians* and *Lacedemonians*, as appears from the Beginning of his Sixth Book; and tho' Part of the Description of that Battle be lost, yet it is manifest, from what remains, that the *Lacedemonians* fought stoutly, and caused the Victory to hang long in Suspence, and few of them died unrevenged. Yea, what is more, *Curtius*, in order to paint the *Lacedemonian* Valour in its true Colours, displays his whole Stock of Rhetorick in Praise of them. Yet after a Battle so resolutely fought, "there fell, says he, of the *Lacedemonians*, Five thousand three hundred and sixty; but of the *Macedonians*, a little above Three hundred." None can endure this, who knows with what Courage, and Obstinacy, the *Lacedemonians* are used to fight; that is, who has the least Acquaintance with the *Greek* History. Surely *Diodorus Siculus*, when he gives an Account of the Number of the *Lacedemonians*, and their Confederates, slain there, agrees pretty near with those, from whom *Curtius* has copied, and only

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\* *Arrian*, lib. ii. cap. 11.

† *Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 15.

abates Sixty of the Number ; but says, there fell of the \* *Macedonians*, or *Antipater's* Men, Three thousand and five hundred. I should have supposed, I had done a piece of Service, in correcting this Passage in *Curtius*, but he shews himself so perpetual a Hunter of Paradoxes, that all Mankind can never be able to amend him, as he requires.

6. Have you a desire to know, by what Authority *Curtius* assumed this Privilege ? Hear *Cicero*, beautifully describing the Wit, and Custom of those Rhetoricians, who had the Ambition to commence Historians : † “ It is always taken for granted, says he, that Rhetoricians will introduce Lyes into History, on purpose to make a Story sound the better : || And as thou contrivest Falshoods about the Death of *Coriolanus* ; *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* have done the very same, concerning *Themistocles*. *Thucydides*, an *Athenian* of high Rank, and great Credit, who lived soon after him, only wrote, that he died, and was privately interr'd in *Athens*, and that there was some Suspicion, that he was poisoned : To which they add, that when he had offered a Bull in Sacrifice, he took a Goblet of the Blood, and having drunk it, fell down dead. Thus they make him die in a Rhetorical, and Tragic Manner ; for your common and ordinary Deaths afford no Matter of Embellishment for their Writings.”

7. For the same Reason, *Curtius* has greedily snatch'd at all the Fables which he found in antient Writers, (which a judicious Historian, and a Regarder of Truth, would either have omitted, or detected of Falshood) and employ'd all his Rhetorick, to make them pass for Truth. Such is the Fable of *Thalestris*, Queen of the *Amazons*, who is said to have come to *Alexander*, on purpose to have a Child by him. This *Curtius* tells seriously : § “ The *Amazons*, says he, border upon *Hyrkania*, and inhabit the Plains of *Themiscyra*, near the River *Thermodoon* ; they had to their Queen, *Thalestris*, who held the Sovereignty of all the Country between Mount *Caucasus*, and the River *Phasis*.” We have already shew'd the vast Error in the Geography here, which is much more absurd, because *Alexander's* March, as described by *Curtius*, led him directly thro' the Country, and, of Consequence, shews

\* *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 357.*

† *In Bruto, N° 42, 43.*

|| *Atticus* here speaks of, and alluded to what *Cicero* said concerning *Coriolanus's* Death, § *Curtius, lib. vi. cap. 5.*

us, that all their Boasts about a Nation of *Amazons*, is no more than an empty Fable; for if *Phasis*, and *Caucasus*, had been to the East of *Hyrcania*, and the Country between, subject to *Thalestris*, *Alexander*, in his Way to the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, must necessarily have pass'd thro' her Territories, and, of Consequence, would have required Aids from her, to assist him in making War upon the neighbouring Countries, which we no where find he did: Howbeit, after *Curtius* has told this single Story, he drops her, and her *Amazons*, and never once mentions them more.

8. However, he proceeds thus; "She, desirous of seeing the King, took a Journey out of her own Territories, (to *Hyrcania*, for *Alexander* was there then) and when she was now, not far distant from him, she sent to acquaint him, that a Queen was coming, who was desirous to see, and know him: Whereupon, Leave being given, she left all her Train there, and only approach'd his Presence with Three hundred Female Attendants, &c." The rest I shall not take the Trouble of transcribing; those who have a mind, may read it in *Curtius*: I shall also forbear declaring it a Fable; for whoever cannot smell that out, wants a Nose, and is not worthy to have good Sense thrown away upon him. The Origin of this Fable has been already shewn by my Father, as you may see at large, in *Questionum Academicarum*, lib. II.

9. Those Stories which he has told, in such blustering Terms, concerning the Dread, and Surprize of the *Macedonians*, \* when they first beheld the ebbing and flowing of the Tide, in the Ocean, are also fabulous; for the *Greeks* knew as much before, as is manifest from *Herodotus*, and many other Writers, who flourished long before *Alexander's* Time. Besides, the *Macedonians* might have suspended their Fears a little, and ask'd Advice of the *Persians*, who were in *Alexander's* Army, and had dwelt near the Sea-shore. Add to this, that the Tide upon the *Indian* Coast is but small, and, of Consequence, incapable of raising such Horror. I could easily be induced to believe, that the regular ebbing and flowing of the Tide, might cause the *Macedonians* to wonder; but that it was such a Terror to them as *Curtius* would persuade us, I can by no means allow. However, had he told the plain Truth of the Story, all that

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\* *Curtius*, lib. ix. cap. 9.

Rhetorical Daubing had been quite useless, and a fine Opportunity of shewing his Wit, by describing a vain, and ill-timed Fear, utterly lost. None also can with Patience endure to read the Story of his Fish, left by the Sea, and walking upon the dry Land: "The Monsters, says he, being thrown ashore by the Waves, walk'd about dreadfully."

10. Nor is there a Grain of Truth in that Story, at the Conclusion of his Work, concerning the Corpse of *Alexander*; "The King's Body had now lain in the Royal Pavillion seven Days.— And there is no hotter Clime, than that of *Mesopotamia*, insomuch that several Creatures, which lie upon the Ground, exposed to it, are kill'd thereby: So excessive is the Heat of the Sun, and Air, that all Things are, in a manner, scorched with Fire.— His Friends were then studious how to preserve the dead Body; but when they enter'd the Place where it lay, they found it firm, and sound, and no Marks of Corruption, nor so much as a Blueness to be discern'd about it: The Liveliness also which is caused by the animal Spirits, was still to be seen in his Countenance." These were Lyes, hatch'd by *Alexander's* Sycophants, even after his Death, or the Fictions of Declaimers; that as every Part of his Life was wonderful, so his Death might be embellish'd in a Tragical, and Rhetorical Manner. This is evident, from comparing *Curtius* with the other Historians, which *Freinshemius* furnishes us with; and the Silence of *Arrian*, who is so accurate in such Matters, is no small Testimony against him.

11. But this, some may say, *Curtius* had from others, whom *Plutarch* commends. I neither commend, nor condemn him, for copying from others; but he ought to have given that necessary Caution, which \* *Arrian* has taken care to furnish us with, on another Occasion; "These Things, says he, are rather added, that my Readers might perceive, I was not ignorant of such Reports, than that I give any Credit to them, or think them worth the Rehearsal." I must confess, *Curtius* has, once, given us a Hint of this kind, to signify, he did not believe all he wrote; but this ought to have been often repeated, as *Arrian* has prudently done, and particularly in those Places which we have brought against him, he might easily have

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\* *Arrian*, lib. vii. towards the Conclusion.

added, as he has done, once, elsewhere; \* "I copy more than I give Credit to; and am neither willing to induce others to believe, what I am doubtful in myself, nor to make them doubt, what I have received for Truth." If this had been every where done, we should have praised his Diligence, without so much as inquiring into his Veracity, or Judgment.



#### C H A P. IV.

*Some Things are very ill described by Quintus Curtius, and others told, which are manifestly false.*

**I**N his Description of the Hook'd Chariots, which the Persians used, he has these Words; "At the End of the Pole, long Spears were fix'd, pointing forwards; and on each Side from the Body of the Chariot, three Swords were placed." This is not difficult to be understood; but what follows, would be extremely difficult, if not altogether unintelligible, unless we depart from the Propriety of the Words, and understand not so much what *Curtius* said, as what he would have said; "And among the Spokes of the Wheels, more Spears stand forth, directed right forwards; some Scythes were fix'd aloft, to the highest Part of the Circumference of the Wheels, and others below, towards the Earth, to cut in pieces who ever lay prostrate, or fell in their Way."

2. Among the Spokes of the Wheels, properly speaking, nothing could stand forth, which would not stop the Motion of the Chariot. Besides, what means he by right forward? Can Spears stand forth, and not point right forward? Then what are the highest Parts of the Circumference of the Wheels? Are they not the Ring, or Rounding? If so, in the Ring, or Rounding, there is neither higher nor lower Part, while the Wheel is in Motion, be-

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\* *Lib. iv. cap. 1. 34;*



cause every Part thereof is highest, and lowest, by Turns. *Curtius* understood it thus, as appears by what follows; "And others fix'd below, towards the Earth." How could Scythes be fix'd at the lowest Extremity of the Ring of the Chariot, which should not hinder its Motion? \* *John Scheffer* judged rightly, that this Description was very much intangled, and imperfect; and so it was deem'd by *Godesc Stevechius*, and *Matthæus Raderus*, inasmuch that neither of them durst venture to take a Draught from it.

3. But where-ever *Curtius* had this Description of a Hook'd Chariot, he seem'd not to have understood his Author, from whence he took it. He ought not to have said, that the Scythes stood forth from among the Spokes, but from the Nave of the Wheel; then, that two Scythes stood forth from the End of the Axle-tree, one right forward, about the Length of the Axle-tree itself, the other transverse, and pointed toward the Ground. The Scythes, and Spears, thus standing forth from the Wheels, or Axle-tree, and that bent downwards from the Axle-tree, were not only designed to cut and tear in pieces all who stood in their Way, but also to destroy all those, who happened either to be thrown down by the Horses, or the Tumult, and Hurry of the People, and lay not far distant.

4. That this, or something like it, was the Form of the Hook'd Chariots, I am fully assured, having the Evidence of two ancient Authors on my Side, the one a *Latin*, the other a *Greek*. *Livy* describes them thus; † "The Hook'd Chariots— were, most commonly, arm'd after this manner; The two Scythes, which they had from the Beam, were shaped like Horns, and full ten Cubits in Length, wherewith they tore, and rent in pieces whatever they met; and at the End of the Axle-tree, two others stood forth, one right forward, the other pointed downward, to cut asunder, and make Havock of whatever lay near them." For these four Scythes, *Curtius* has three Swords, which are not capable of doing half the Execution. The rest he describes thus; "Also at the Naves of the Wheels, two others were fix'd, in the same manner as the former." *Curtius* aimed at something like this, in these Words; "And other Scythes in the highest

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\* *Scheffer, de re Vehiculari, lib. xi. cap. 15.* † *Livy, lib. xxxvii. cap. 41.*

“ Part of the Circumference, &c.” But his Description is absurd, and would be unintelligible, if *Livy* did not help us to his Meaning. *Diodorus Siculus*, discoursing of Hook’d Chariots, gives us this Description of them ; \* “ From each of them, says he, at the End of the Pole were fix’d Spears of three Spans in Length, looking directly against the Enemies Ranks.” This answers to the former Part of *Curtius’s* Description, and what follows to the latter ; “ And in the Nave of the Axle-tree, (that is, beneath the Chariot, where the Axle-tree holds it up) two other Darts stood out, pointed in like manner, against the Enemies Ranks, but broader and longer than the former. Scythes were also fix’d upon these Extremities, (that is, the Ends of the Axle-trees.)” I fancy, from these, or some such like Descriptions, ill understood, *Curtius* has taken his absurd, and imperfect one ; for which see *John Scheffer*, who has taken some Pains to reconcile *Curtius* to common Sense, by substituting Naves, for the outermost Ring, or Circumference. But to me, it is no Wonder, that a Man used all his Life-time to declaiming, should err in such a Description ; and I would not have *Scheffer*, or any one else, pretend to make him skill’d in Military Terms, in spite of all the Manuscript Copies of his Work. *Lucian* mocks a certain *Corinthian* Historian, by telling him, “ He had never so much as seen a Battle painted on a Wall, nor knew what Arms, nor military Engines were.” For which Reason, he would have a Man, at least, to have seen all these Things, before he attempts to commence Historian.

5. However, considering him as a Rhetorician, we may well forgive his erroneous Descriptions of Hook’d Chariots, which he had never seen ; but he is hardly excusable, when he stumbles, and hesitates, in Things which were obvious, and plain, and contradicts himself. Thus he describes the Field of Battle, where *Alexander* overcame *Darius*, the second Time ; † “ The Country, says he, was a smooth, and wide Plain, fit for the drawing up an Army upon : not so much as a Branch, or Stump of a Tree, was to be seen ; but the Eye had a full, and unbounded Prospect on all Hands, even as far as it could reach.” After he had said thus much, who could ever have dream’d, that he would have added ; “ Therefore, where there were any

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\* *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 530.*

† *Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 9. 10.*

“ Hillocks,

"Hillocks, he order'd them to be levell'd, and the whole Surface to be made plain." \* This is a plain Contradiction to what he had said just before; and that they might have hung together, instead of saying, "the Country was a smooth, and wide Plain," he ought to have said, the Country was, almost every where, a smooth, and wide Plain; and then he might have subjoin'd, "Where there were any Hillocks, &c." Nay, so fond is he of these Hillocks, and so unwilling to part with them, notwithstanding what he has said before, that he swells one of them into a high Hill, and some others into Mountains: † Upon the high Hill, *Mazeus*, with a choice Troop of Horse, posted themselves, but soon retired from thence, and returned to *Darius*. However, the *Macedonians* seized that very Hill, which *Mazeus* had just left, because it was a safer Post for them than the level Field; besides, from thence they could easily have had a full View of all the Enemies Troops, which lay extended on the Plain.—But the Mist, which was among the Mountains, hindered the Prospect of the Ranks, and Orders of their Army." These are Contradictions; for Hills, and Mountains, no doubt, bound the Sight; yet *Arrian*, in his Description of this Field of Battle, has something not much different from this.

6. When *Alexander* had advanced, with his Army, as far as the River *Hyphasis*, || he begins to doubt, "whether the *Macedonians*, having traversed such a vast Part of the Earth, are not become old in the Service." If this be understood of *Alexander's* Wars, it is absurd; he reigned but few Years, and made War with *Darius* yet fewer. *Curtius* himself was not wholly ignorant of this; for a little after, he brings in *Alexander* speaking thus; § "Have I conquer'd both Regions, in the Tenth Year of my Reign, and the Twenty-ninth of my Age, and must I now cease the Pursuit of Glory, to which alone I had devoted myself?" But some may say, They had been in *Philip's* Wars before, which are therefore to be joined with those of *Alexander*. However, this is a needless Surmise, because the Stipends they had fought for under *Philip*, ought not to be imputed to his Son *Alexander*.

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† *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 12. 19. &c.  
§ *Ibid.* cap. 6. 21.

|| *Lib.* ix. cap. 11. 10.

7. But not to stifle any thing which may be said in *Curtius's* Behalf, the Word *Senex*, which he there uses, sometimes signifies a Man who is not very much advanced in Years, as may be gathered from *Livy*, where he introduces *Hannibal*, that veteran Commander, speaking thus; \* “As to myself, my Age persuades me to return, an Old Man, into my Country, from whence I went out a Youth; for the Mixture of Prosperity, and Adversity, which I have already tried, has taught me rather, henceforth, to follow the Dictates of Reason, than subject myself to the Caprice of Fortune.” However, some Time after, the same *Hannibal* tells the *Carthaginians*, † “that at Thirty-six Years of Age, he had been sent forth to fight for them, the Space of Nine Years.” He was then, therefore, but Forty-five, which can scarce be term’d Old, if we take *Senilis Ætas* in the same Sense as the *Greeks* understand γῆρας; but it may be understood thus, only in Opposition to Childhood, or Youth, and so properly enough term’d *Senilis Ætas*; and so the Soldiers in *Alexander's* Army, who had only followed his Fortunes Eight Years, might be said to be *Senes facti*, if they were arrived to the Age when *Hannibal* term’d himself so, and much more truly, if some of them had then borne Arms the space of Fifty Years.

8. *Cæsus*, in a Speech which he makes in behalf of the whole Army, has these Expressions; “Our Darts are now blunted; we have no offensive Arms: ——— || How few among us have Coats of Mail? Who has a Horse remaining?” These are such far-fetch’d Hyperboles, that they are direct Lyes, contradictory to all History, which assures us, that *Alexander's* Army fought several Battles after this; which they would hardly have done, without Weapons: Besides, had those they carried from *Macedonia* been worn out, they might be furnished with sufficient Supplies in *Asia*; and such a General, would never suffer his Troops to go unarmed. *Curtius*, therefore, could not have put these Words into the Mouth of *Cæsus*, unless he had forgot himself, and suffered his Sense to be hurried away, by the Impetuosity of his Style.

\* *Livy*, lib. xxx. cap. 30.

† *Ibid.* cap. 37.

|| *Curt.* lib. ix. cap. 3. 10. 11.





C H A P. V.

*Quintus Curtius often dwells upon unnecessary Subjects, and omits Things really material.*

• **A**S the Incidents in *Alexander's* Life, are in a manner infinite, and the Events innumerable, all cannot be recorded ; not only because many of them never come to the Knowledge of an Historian, but also because he ought to shew his Judgment, by this Choice : All unnecessary Things are therefore to be rejected, and only those conducing to the Series of the History retained. In a jejune, and barren Subject, indeed, and which, without some additional Embellishment, would be bald, and unpleasant, the Descriptions of common Accidents may be endured : But where the Theme is copious, they are absolutely intolerable. However, thus Historians have acted, as is evident from the before-mentioned Book of *Lucian* ; “ There are some, says he, “ who either omit, or carelessly pass over Affairs of the “ highest Moment ; and, by reason of their Unskilfulness, “ or Folly, or Ignorance of what ought to be told, and “ what left out, they dwell upon Trifles, and prosecute “ them with the greatest Eagerness imaginable.” Such are the Descriptions wherewith *Quintus Curtius*, above all others, every where abounds, as shall be fully made out, by the following Particulars.

2. What is more common, or better known, than Rivers ? and yet how frequent are their Descriptions, every where interspersed thro' his Work ; not that the Reader is supposed to want any Information of the Nature of each of them, or that any memorable Action happened upon their Banks, which might cause a short historical Account of them ; but that we should admire the Writer's Eloquence, by his Manner of describing them. Thus he paints forth *Marsyas*, a River of *Phrygia* ; “ The River *Marsyas*, “ says he, celebrated by the fabulous *Greek* Stories, at that “ Time overflowed the Country of *Media* : It rises from the “ Top of a Mountain, and falls into a Rock below, with a “ great Noise. Thence it spreads itself abroad, and waters “ the

“ the circumjacent Fields, running in a clear, and limpid  
 “ Stream, and receiving no other into its Bosom. Its Co-  
 “ lour, therefore, resembling that of a calm Sea, has given  
 “ occasion to the Fictions of the Poets, who report, That  
 “ the Nymphs, enamour’d with this River, chose to place  
 “ themselves upon that Rock. As long as it keeps within  
 “ the Walls, it retains its first Name; but as soon as it  
 “ glides thro’ those Barriers, it proceeds with greater  
 “ Strength and Force, and assumes the Name of *Lycus*.”  
 Had *Alexander* met with any Difficulty in passing this  
 River, or had any notable Action happen’d near it, this  
 Account might have been endured: But that the Reader  
 may be satisfied how impertinent it is, let him but omit it,  
 and pass it over in the reading, and he will find the History  
 full as good without it. I can bear with *Currius*’s Descrip-  
 tion of the River *Cydnus*, which flows thro’ *Tarsus*, be-  
 cause *Alexander* resolving to wash himself therein, when  
 he was hot with travelling, had no sooner enter’d it, than  
 he was seiz’d with a grievous Distemper: I say, I can with-  
 out any Pain read, “ that \* *Cydnus* is not so remarkable  
 “ for the Quantity, as the Quality of her Waters; she  
 “ rises in a flat Country, and glides gently thro’ a fine Soil,  
 “ receiving no Brooks to trouble the natural Pureness of  
 “ her own Stream. She therefore passeth unmix’d, and ex-  
 “ cessive cold, as being shaded, all along, by tall, and plea-  
 “ sant Trees, growing on her Banks, and falls into the Sea  
 “ in the same manner as she flow’d from her Fountains.”  
 These Things might induce *Alexander* to bath himself in  
 her Bosom, and are not therefore foreign to the Purpose of  
 an Historian.

3. But his Account of *Pastigris* is wholly useless, as  
 may appear thro’ the Work. Thus, however, he describes  
 it: I have quoted his own Words, on purpose that the  
 Reader may understand, by his tedious Descriptions of  
 Rivers, how vastly he values himself upon the Art of de-  
 scribing them; † “ The King, says he, on the fourth Day  
 “ after, pitch’d his Tents on the Banks of a River, which  
 “ the Inhabitants call *Pastigris*: It arises among the Moun-  
 “ tains of the *Uxii*, and rushes thro’ a woody Country, in  
 “ a rocky Channel, the Space of Fifty Stadia. Then, con-  
 “ tinuing its Course along a flat Country, it there glides  
 “ freely on, and becomes navigable; and thus, after a calm,

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\* *Currius*, lib. iii. cap. 4. 8.    † *Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 3. 1.

“ and

" and quiet Race, of Six hundred Stadia, thro' a fruitful  
 " Soil, it discharges its Waters into the *Persian* Sea." What did *Alexander* here, to merit this Description? Why, nothing, but only that he passed over it.

4. A little after, he falls to describing the Rivers *Araxes*, and *Medus*, which he calls \* *Persian* Rivers, to full as much purpose, as he did those before; † " The River *Araxes*, says he, empties itself with a great Torrent, into the *Medus*. *Medus* is a less River than that which it receives, and continues its Course (a *Mari*) Southwards: " Where-ever the Water of it comes, it renders the Place exceeding fruitful, and causes it to produce great Plenty of Flowers; Palm-Trees, and Poplar-Trees cloath its Banks, and grow so thick, that they appear afar off no other than one continued pleasant Grove. Its Channel is deep, yet notwithstanding, the Moisture ascends to the Roots of the Trees, and contributes to their bringing forth Leaves, and Boughs in great Plenty." I shall not be so impertinent here, as to inquire, what his *Mari versus* signifies, when he is discoursing about a River. Here may be some Error in the Copy, as the Learned suspect. However, the luxuriant Style of the Rhetorician, and his insignificant Descriptions of these Rivers, is abundantly shew'd.

5. Perhaps his Digression concerning *Ziobernus*, a River of *Hyrkania*, may be a little more excusable, because *Alexander* had a Desire of knowing something which was singular in its Course, by his own Experience. However, that alone ought to have been told plainly, and significantly, and not a long Detail of other Things, foreign to the Purpose. Thus he describes it; || " The Wood, with thick, and lofty Trees, yields a very delightful Shade, and the fertile Earth is watered with Rivulets flowing from all Parts of the neighbouring Rocks. The River *Ziobernus* issues from the Foot of a Mountain, and runs almost Three Furlongs in Length, in one Stream; but then, being hindered by a Rock, which cuts the Water, it divides itself into two Parts, and then, a little further, sinks under the Earth, with a great Noise, caused by the Ruggedness of the Stones, thro' which it passes. It runs

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\* *Curt. lib. v. cap. 4. 7.* † *Curtius* ought to be careful, that these be not *Armenian* Rivers, when he positively calls them *Persian* ones. See *Strabo, lib. xv. p. 729.* *Curt. lib. vi. cap. 4. 4.*

“ thus under Ground Three hundred Furlongs, and then  
 “ again breaks forth afresh, as if there it had its Fountain,  
 “ sending forth a new Stream, far broader than the former;  
 “ for it is, there, above Thirteen Furlongs in Breadth, and  
 “ so grows narrower by degrees, till at length it falls into  
 “ another River, call'd *Ridago*. The Inhabitants affirm,  
 “ that whatever is let fall into the Cavern, at the first Foun-  
 “ tain, will come up again at the second; upon this Occa-  
 “ sion, *Alexander* commanded two Oxen to be thrown in  
 “ at the first, whose Bodies were accordingly seen (by  
 “ those he had sent) to ascend at the second, driven out by  
 “ the Violence of the Stream.” The Knowledge of this  
 last Article, was all *Alexander* wanted; and it had been  
 enough for him to have told his Reader, that after the  
 River had hid itself under Ground, it burst forth again:  
 The rest is all Stuff, and the Business of a Declaimer, not  
 of an Historian.

6. Thus he proceeds to describe *Polytimetus*, a River  
 of *Sogdiana*; \* “ The River call'd by the Natives *Poly-*  
*timetus*, runs almost the whole Length of the Country:  
 “ This River is but narrow, but very rapid, and at last it  
 “ runs under Ground, where the Course of it may be heard;  
 “ but upon all the Places it runs over, not one Spring is to  
 “ be found.” I could add to these, his Accounts of the  
 † *Indian* Rivers, but I am weary of transcribing such useless  
 Episodes; and I do not question, but by this Time, my  
 Reader is as weary with reading them.

7. However, *Curtius* was not the only antient Author,  
 who transgress'd in this Particular, as is evident from *Lu-*  
*cian*, who thus speaks of a certain *Greek* Historian; “ One,  
 “ says he, who was famous for a Volubility of Speech, who  
 “ being equal, in his own Conceit, or somewhat superior  
 “ to *Thucydides*, took an Opportunity of describing every  
 “ City, Mountain, Field, and River, which came in his  
 “ Way, in the most glaring, and lively Colours imaginable.”  
 For that Reason, he afterwards established it as a Maxim,  
 to be observed by Historians, that none should trifle away  
 his own, and Reader's Time, in unnecessary Descriptions:  
 His Words we shall quote in the VIIIth Chapter.

8. If you compare *Curtius* diligently with other Writers  
 of *Alexander's* Life, and especially with *Arrian*, it will ap-  
 pear, that he has omitted many Circumstances, which con-

\* *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 10. 2.

† *Lib.* viii. cap. 9.



duce not a little to the Series of the History, and to make all the rest intelligible. I remember, I once took notice of several, but shall only here produce one, but that a very remarkable one, whereby the Reader may judge of the rest. When I read the Description of the Battle at *Iffus*, in *Curtius*, before I had consulted *Arrian*, he seem'd to me to err in Point of Geography, as he frequently does elsewhere, because he had omitted one very material Circumstance: He says, that \* “on the same Night, *Alexander* arrived “at the Streights, by which *Syria* is enter'd, and *Darius* “at those of *Amanus*.” *Darius* march'd from *Euphrates*, and *Alexander* from *Tarsus*; † therefore *Alexander*'s Right Wing ought to have extended towards the *Cilician* Sea, and the Left towards the Mountains: and, on the other hand, *Darius*'s Right Wing should have stretch'd towards the Mountains, and the Left to the Sea. Notwithstanding all which, *Curtius* tells us, that ‖ *Darius*'s Right Wing stretch'd out to the Sea, and § *Alexander*'s Left Wing was extended towards the Mountains. This I could not comprehend, nor is it possible to be comprehended, by *Curtius*'s Narration: But casting my Eyes upon *Arrian*, the whole Mystery was revealed; for he tells us, that *Alexander* receiving Intelligence, that *Darius* was at *Sobos*, march'd from *Mallos* to the Streights of *Amanus*, which he pass'd, and encamp'd near the City *Myriandrus*: and that *Darius*, not knowing that *Alexander* had pass'd these Streights, pass'd them himself, in his Way to *Cilicia*, and seiz'd upon *Iffus*. Therefore, that they might come to an Engagement, it was then necessary, that *Alexander* should turn from *Syria*, towards *Cilicia*, and that *Darius* should also turn his Troops to meet him. ‡ “*Darius*, says *Arrian*, having “pass'd the Mountain, which is nigh the Streights of “*Amanus*, directed his March towards *Iffus*, not knowing “that *Alexander*'s whole Force was now behind him: “However, *Alexander* understanding how the Case stood, “\*\* dispatch'd some of his Horse, and Archers, to clear “the Road to the Streights, which he was obliged to pass; “which done, the Night following, he moved, with his “whole Army, to take Possession of them again.” This

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 8. 13. † To understand this perfectly, the Reader ought to have a Map of Lesser *Asia* before him.  
 ‖ *Curt*, lib. iii. cap. 8. 27. § *Ibid*. cap. 9. 8. ‡ *Arrian*, lib. ii. cap. 6. \*\* *Ib. lib. ii. cap. 7.*

being performed accordingly, *Alexander* drew up his Army, the Right Wing thereof being extended to the Mountains, and the Left Wing to the Sea.

9. The Matter is now plain : However, two Things seem still somewhat strange in this Story, first, how *Darius* came not to know that the *Macedonians* lay encamp'd at *Myriandrus*, (for if his Spies could not find that out, sure the Inhabitants thereabouts, who were then in *Darius's* Interest, could not be ignorant of it ; ) and secondly, what could be the Reason, that when *Alexander* knew that *Darius's* mighty Army was just passing those Streights, he did not attack them, when the Part which had pass'd them, would have been incapable of succouring their Friends ; by which Stratagem, that great Army might have been easily overcome, without Hazard ? And that the Matter stood thus, is evident, by the Disposition of the Wings of both Armies. But Things which are most to the Purpose, ought least to have been omitted by *Curtius*, especially seeing such an Omission renders him perfectly unintelligible.

10. " On the same Night, says he, *Alexander* arrived at " the Streights of *Syria*, and *Darius* at those of *Amanus*." The Streights of *Syria*, according to \* *Strabo*, are beyond *Myriandrus*, and those of *Amanus*, not far from *Iffus*. But it must be said, once for all, that this was occasioned by the Mistake of both Armies, seeking one another in a wrong Place : However, this Mistake was a Point necessary to have been taken notice of. But if I may be allowed to speak my Sentiments, I am of Opinion, that *Curtius* copied after some Author who had omitted this Circumstance, without knowing that any thing material was wanting. What follows, confirms me in this, when he tells us, that " those *Macedonians*, whom *Darius* had taken in the City " of *Iffus*, (which was to the Westward of the Streights of " *Amanus* ) and cut off their Hands, entered the *Macedonian* Camp, and told them, that *Darius* was following " them, as hard as he could march." Now it is plain, they could not properly say, *Darius* followed them, forasmuch as they knew not that he entered *Cilicia*, soon after *Alexander* entered *Syria*.

11. In the mean time, the Disposition of the Wings of both Armies was true, as *Curtius* had given it ; but then it was not to be understood, by his bare Narration. Hence we may easily gather, that, in short Histories especially,

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\* *Strabo*, lib. xiv.

some Difficulties may occur, which it will be no easy matter to account for, and which, sometimes, will be impossible for us to find out; not that the Historians themselves are guilty of manifest Errors, but because they have omitted some Circumstances, without which, the Series of the Story is not to be understood. That, which in itself may be never so true, may, by the Omission of one Circumstance in the Relation, appear a Fiction; unless some other Historian happens to be at hand, who has given us a more ample Account of the Matter. An Historian ought not, therefore, to be rashly accused of Falsity, tho' the several Parts of his History do not seem to hang well together; we ought rather to muster up Arguments to convince ourselves, how the Matter ought to be understood, in any other Sense: If we fail in this, the safest Way is to suspend our Judgment, and let the Matter rest, till some other Historian clears it up to our Hands.

12. I could easily shew another sort of Omission in *Curtius*, but because the best of our Historians are guilty of the same, notwithstanding it is inconsistent with the Laws of an accurate Narration, I shall but barely mention it. We often take notice, that a Circumstance is omitted in the foregoing Part of a Discourse, upon which a great Part of the rest has a Dependence, which Circumstance, perhaps, is in itself of no Importance; however, it ought either to be mentioned by an Historian, or all those Parts of the Narration which have a Dependence thereon, wholly omitted. All Things are not to be recorded by an Historian, 'tis true; but at the same time, nothing ought to be left out, by those, who aim at Accuracy this Way, which will afford new Light to the Narration, if the Knowledge thereof be possible to be gained. As for Example, *Curtius*, when he describes *Darius's* Manner of embattling his Army, adds, " \* that they placed the King's Wife, and Mother, and " whole Train of Women, in the Middle of the Host ;" after this, he proceeds to the Description of the *Macedonians*, and then to the Battle. No Mortal, who read only thus far, would doubt but that *Darius's* Wife, and Mother, and all the rest of the Female Train, were present in the Battle: But from the Sequel, it is plain, they were not there, but in the Camp, and were so ignorant of the Disposition of the Army, as not to know in which Wing *Darius* stood.

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 9. 6.

Therefore, had this former Circumstance been true, *Curtius* ought to have added, that *Darius's* Wife, and Mother, indeed, saw the Army drawn up, but before the Trumpets sounded the Alarm, they return'd into the Camp. Or if he chose not to have inserted this Circumstance, he ought to have omitted the other.

13. In his Account of the Expedition against the \* *Bactrians*, he has this Passage; "He thence returned to *Cra-terus*, who besieged *Artacama*, &c." Of which Siege, there was not so much as a Syllable mentioned before; for what he had said elsewhere, of *Craterus* being left to carry on the Siege, &c. relates to another Town. And elsewhere, after he has described † *Ptolemy*, with all the Horse under his Command, riding along the Banks of the River *Hydaspes*, to seek a fordable Place, in order to attack a Party of *Porus's* Army, over-against him, while *Alexander* was passing the same River, a little above; he then proceeds directly to an Account of the Battle itself, where he assures us, ‡ *Ptolemy* was present, tho' he never acquainted us, that he had pass'd the River. But the Matter, you may perhaps say, was sufficiently plain of itself; for *Ptolemy* could not possibly have been present with his Party, at the Battle, unless he had pass'd it. But he might have stopp'd a little here, the Circumstance was of Importance enough to have been remember'd, by the Addition of one small Word or two. I shall not take notice, in this Place, that the Story is differently told by *Arrian*, from *Ptolemy* himself, a Party concerned, and an Eye-witness; for that is not my present Inquiry.

14. A just, and exact Narration will not admit of any such Omissions; but because *Curtius* has this Error in common with some of the best of our Historians, we shall overlook his Faults, for their sakes, lest we be thought to pass too harsh a Censure, upon the great Ornaments of their Age. Others have already collected Examples of this sort; we shall therefore add only one, which occurs to our Memory while we are writing: It is a Passage in *Herodian*, where that most elegant Author, writing concerning *Pertinax*, says; "But afterwards, when Fame had noised abroad, what he had said in the Senate-House, or what he had wrote to the People, every one was glad." Whereas there

\* *Curtius*, lib. vi. cap. 6. 33.  
 † *Ibid.* cap. 14. 15.

‡ *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. 13. 18.

was no Mention made before, of any Speech which *Perinax* had made in the Senate, or any thing he had wrote to the People.

15. Several learned Men have found, by comparing *Curtius* with *Arrian*, and other Writers, who take notice of *Alexander's* Acts, even in a cursory Way, \* that "*Curtius* hurries his History on abundantly too fast, towards the Conclusion, insomuch that he is forced to omit several Things of great Importance, and to touch others but lightly over: The Expedition against the second *Porus*, for Example, who was Nephew to the first great Monarch of that Name, of whom, besides *Arrian*, *Strabo* takes notice, he has given us in one single Word." Other Examples of this kind might be brought; but we too are in haste to come to the Conclusion of this Chapter.



## CHAP. VI.

*Quintus Curtius rashly attributes the Knowledge of the Greek Fables to the Indians, and gives Greek Names to the remotest Rivers in India.*

IT is a common Fault among the *Greek*, and *Roman* Writers, to seek for their own Deities, and those Fables which owed their Birth to *Greece*, and *Italy*, (and gain'd Credit only among Boys) in the midst of *Barbarians*, who never so much as heard of their Names, before the *Greeks*, and *Romans* entered their Territories. Of this, we have already treated, in our *Ars Critica*, Part II. Sect. I. Chap. XIII. and here will proceed to shew, that *Curtius* was not free from this Accusation, but blindly followed the *Greek* Writers, who gave not the true Names of the Rivers, and Towns in *India*, but their Names miserably wrested into the *Greek* Tongue; whereas it is evident, the Inhabitants of that Country understood not a Word of that Language. Besides, he also imitates that wretched *Greek* Custom of

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\* Vide *Freinsheim. ad Curtium*, lib. ix. cap. 1. 8.

giving most of the *Barbarian* Proper Names a *Greek* Interpretation, and then palming their spurious Interpretations upon us, instead of the Names themselves : Which is the same, as if the *French* should sometimes write the *German* Appellations in their own Idiom, and at other times wholly change them into *French* Words, and use such Alterations instead of the original Names. Who would endure a *French* Historian, should he proceed to give us the Acts of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, after this Manner? However, we may forgive the Antients this one Offence, because they make us amends for it, with innumerable Excellencies ; but tho' we may overlook it, we may, at the same time, note it down as a great Fault, which every one, unless he be a superficial Reader, must needs take notice of.

2. When *Alexander* had entered the Territories of *India*, their chief Rulers came to meet him, and ask his Commands, not forgetting " \* to tell him, that he was the third " Son of *Jove*, who had penetrated thus far ; that Father " *Bacchus*, and *Hercules* had, indeed, visited them, according to common Fame ; but that they saw him, then, " among them." If any such Speech was ever made by the *Indians*, the first Writers of this History ought to have given us the true *Barbarian* Names, the *Indians* made use of, which, undoubtedly, were not *Greek*, when even the *Romans*, who had the same Religion with the *Greeks*, whose Religious Rites were derived from thence, and whose Territories were so near, did not use the same Names ; for who knows not, that *Neptunus*, *Mercurius*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Ceres*, *Diana*, and many other Appellations of their Deities, are not of *Greek* Extraction? And much more then, would the *Indians* call their Gods, whoever they were, by other Names, proper to their Country : Even at this Day, the *Persians* tell Stories of one *Rustemus*, an *Indian*, who lived in the most antient Times, and was of a Gigantick Stature : Of him, the *Indians* have many fabulous Relations, and his Effigies is to be seen among the Ruins of *Persepolis*, as † *John Chardin*, an Eye-witness, informs us ; He imagines this *Rustemus* to have been their *Hercules* ; but assures us, at the same time, that they gave all Heroes of those Times, the Denomination of *Hercules*. Whether there are any Figures, among those Pieces of Sculpture, referring to the Stories of *Hercules*, or *Bacchus*, I know not.

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\* *Curt. lib. viii. cap. 10. 1.* † *Itiner. Persic. tom. iii. p. 121. Edit. 4<sup>o</sup>.*

3. However, if I may be allowed to speak the Truth freely, I believe these were only the Fictions of the *Macedonians*, who, as we have before observed, from *Eratoſthenes*, and *Strabo*, were reſolved, at all Adventures, to raiſe *Alexander*, at leaſt, to a Pitch of Glory equal with *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*. *Arrian* is very merry upon this Story: He ſmelt a Rat, but durſt not declare his Sentiments barefaced, becauſe of his Religion. However, he begins his Fifth Book thus; “*Alexander* then entered that Part of the “Country which lies between the two Rivers, *Cophenes*, “and *Indus*, where *Nyſa* is ſaid to be ſituate. This City “was built by *Dionyſus* (or *Bacchus*) when he conquered “the *Indians*. But who this *Bacchus* was, or at what “Time, or from whence he ſet forth againſt theſe *Indians*, “is hard to determine. Whether he was that *Theban*, “who from *Thebes*, or he who from *Imolus*, a Mountain “of *Lydia*, undertook that famous Expedition into *India*, “and when he had paſſ’d thro’ ſo many warlike Nations, “then unknown to the *Greeks*, reduced none of them all, “by Force, but *India*.” Theſe plainly ſhew, that the *Greeks* fooliſhly aſcribed that Expedition, either to the *Theban*, or the *Lydian Bacchus*, and that the *Macedonians* took the Liberty of forging theſe Stories, in Honour of their General. I am not ignorant, that ſome \* great Men have obſerved, and proved, by learned Arguments, that *Bacchus* was one of the Eaſtern Deities; but our Diſcourſe is concerning the *Theban Bacchus*, the Son of *Semele*, which Name the *Greeks* borrowed of the *Chaldeans*, or, perhaps, the *Egyptians*. Beſides, that the Oriental *Bacchus*, or *Dionyſus*, whoever he was, made War upon *India*, is hardly credible; however, it is not my Deſign, at this Time, to demonſtrate the contrary: the Reader, if he pleaſes, may conſult *Strabo*, for his further Satisfaction, towards the Beginning of his Fifteenth Book.

4. However, ’tis worth our while to liſten to *Arrian*, who thus proceeds; “This I may venture to ſay, that “theſe Things which the Antients have publiſh’d, in their “Fables, concerning their Gods, ought not to be too narrowly ſearch’d into; for whenever the Truth of a Story “ſeem’d liable to be call’d in queſtion, ſome God was immediately ſummon’d to their Aid, and then all was plain, “and beyond Diſpute.” If it be lawful, or juſt to haul

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\* *Sam. Bochart. in Phaleg. lib. i. cap. 2.*

in the publick Faith to countenance a Lye, what more can be done in behalf of Truth ? for he has assured us, that the Name of some God was call'd upon, to screen a Lye from a too inquisitive Search ; whereby it found the Credit, which was due to nothing but Truth. But this Privilege, you will, perhaps, say, was only allowed to the Fables of the Antients, and not to any Lyes. But what Title can the Antients plead for Lying, which the Moderns are debarr'd from laying a Claim to ? Or by what Right do the Antients escape the Censure of the Moderns, when, at the same time, the Moderns fall so severely upon one another ? This was the Opinion of some Heathens, and those no Fools neither, as is evident from *Arrian*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* preceded, who thus enters upon the History of *Hercules* ; “ Truth ought neither to be too diligently sought for, nor “ too eagerly expected in these Fabulous Relations ; for on “ our Theatres, tho' we know there never were Centaurs, “ of a Species between Brutal and Human, nor any such “ Person as *Geryon*, with three Bodies, yet we receive such “ Fables as these, and by our Applauses add to the Honour “ of the God.” Thus the *Macedonians*, undoubtedly, imagined they added to *Alexander's* Honour, by the Lyes they published concerning him ; and the Writers, which copied after them, from these Fables of theirs, have introduced the *Indians* flattering *Alexander*. Such is the Speech of *Acut- phis* in *Arrian*, towards the Beginning of his Fifth Book.

5. *Curtius* discoursing of the *Niseans*, says, that \* “ they “ derive the Origine of their City from *Bacchus*, and that “ Claim of theirs, is just.” As if this were any Token of the least Truth in it : However, he proceeds ; “ The City “ is seated at the Foot of a Mountain, which the Natives “ call *Meros*, whence the *Greeks* have assumed the Liberty “ of coining the Fable of *Bacchus's* lying conceal'd in *Ju- piter's* Thigh.” I would gladly ask, whether *Meros* is an *Indian* Word, which the *Macedonians* imagined the same with the *Greek Mneis* ? If it was, why did they not also give us the *Indian* Name of *Bacchus* ? Besides, why is he call'd *Bacchus*, not simply ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τελεσθῆναι, because he was nourished in a Thigh, but ἐν τῷ σὺ Διὸς μηρῷ, because it was *Jupiter's* Thigh. But all these are neither better nor worse than Lyes of the *Macedonians* ; for it is most likely, that the *Theban Bacchus* was said, by the antient *Thebans*, who were a Colony of *Phœnicians*, to have

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\* *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 10. 11.



sprung from *Jupiter's* Thigh, after the *Phœnician* Manner of speaking, which was also common among the *Hebrews*, and signified no more, than that he was one of *Jupiter's* Descendants.

6. The *Macedonians* not only found that *Bacchus*, a Citizen of *Thebes*, was known among the *Indians*, if we will give Credit to them, but they found another God there, born in the same City, namely, *Hercules*, as we have already related. \* "The Image of *Hercules* was borne before the "Troops : It was a great Excitement to their Courage, and "it was deem'd a heinous Offence, to shrink from it, and "leave their Standard in the Field : Thus had the Fear of "*Hercules*, once their Enemy, created in them a kind of "religious Awe." These, and the like Stories, are to be found in *Curcius*, and others: None of whom, so much as mention any Name which *Hercules* had in *India*, the whole being no more than a mere Fiction of the *Macedonians*, who, that they might exalt *Alexander* above *Hercules*, boasted, that the Rock † *Aornus*, which *Alexander* took, was besieged, in vain, by *Hercules*, who was forced, by an Earthquake, to raise his Siege, and depart.

7. *Arrian* easily smelt this to be a Fable ; for speaking of the Rock *Aornus*, he has these Words ; || "The Report, concerning this Rock, was, that *Hercules*, tho' he "was the Son of *Jove*, was not able to reduce it. But "whether any *Hercules*, either the *Theban*, the *Tyrian*, or "the *Ægyptian*, ever penetrated so far as *India*, I cannot "affirm for Truth, but am rather inclined to believe the "contrary ; for whatever is difficult, or hard to be accomplished, Men, to raise the Difficulty still the higher, have "reported, That even *Hercules* attempted it in vain." If for Men, *Arrian* had said the *Greeks*, he had hit the Mark ; for this Fable owed its Rise to that Nation, and, perhaps, they attributed all those famous Labours, to that *Hercules*, who was their Countryman.

8. *Eratosthenes* the § *Cyrenean*, who was the strictest Remarker of the *Macedonian* Forgeries, tells us, "that "when they saw Oxen in *India* mark'd with a Brand, in "Form of a Club, they immediately concluded, from that "Circumstance, that *Hercules* had penetrated thus far." As for my part, I should much rather have concluded the

\* *Curt. lib. viii. cap. 14. 11.*

|| *Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 28.*

† *Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 11. 2.*

§ *Ibid. lib. v. cap. 3.*

whole Matter a Fiction, or that the *Macedonians* call'd some of the chief Deities among the *Indians* by the Name of *Hercules*, of whom some such Stories had been told by the Natives, as the *Greeks* told of their *Theban Hercules*. If the Reader desire to be further satisfied in this Point, let him consult *Arrian*, in his *Indian History*; for I have not Leisure to prosecute this Argument further, neither is it worth while, if I had.

9. We cannot easily forgive those, who were the first Publishers of *Alexander's History*, (for *Curtius* is not any way culpable in this Case, it being impossible for him to tell us what he knew not himself) their substituting *Greek* Appellations, every where, instead of the true, and genuine Names, which the *Barbarians* themselves used: Such are, \* *Polytimetus*, Πολυτιμίδης, the Name of a River in *Sogdiana*; † *Erymanthus*, Ἐρυμανθός, a River in *India*; †† *Deadala*, Δαδάλω, a Country; § *Aornus*, Ἀορνός, a Rock; There was a Lake of this Name, in *Epirus*; ‡ *Ecbolima*, Ἐκβολίμα, the Name of a Country, and many others of this sort.

10. The *Greek* Historians, whom *Curtius* copied after, chose their own Words, for those of the *Persian*, and those He every where uses throughout his *Latin History*, as if they were the true *Persian* Names of the Things represented; \*\* "The next Troop to those, says he, were call'd *Doryphori*, and received their Cloathing from the King." He proceeds in the same manner in the following Passages, only here he has given us an Appellation truly *Persian*; "They call the Royal Ornament of the Head, *Cidaris*." A little after, he says, "Then followed Fifteen, call'd by the Name of *Armamaxe*." And thus, discoursing of a Nation bordering upon *India*; "He commanded that a March should be proclaim'd against the *Agriaspe*, the Name of which People was since changed to *Euergete*, being so call'd by *Cyrus*, because of the Succours, of all kinds, which his Army received among them, when they laboured under the greatest Necessities." Every one knows, *Cyrus* did not speak *Greek*, and besides, *Herodotus* assures us, that those, who merited well of the King, were stiled *Orosangas*, in the *Persian Language*. It

\* *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 10. 2. † *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. 9. 10.  
 †† *Ibid.* cap. 10. 16. § *Ibid.* cap. 11. 2. ‡ *Ibid.* cap. 12. 1.  
 \*\* *Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 3. 15.

is to me, a very great Wonder, that the true, and antient Name of the Capital City of the *Persian* Empire, should be every where suppress'd, and the *Greek* Appellation of *Persepolis* substituted in its Place, not only by *Curtius*, but all other antient Authors ; by which means, it is absolutely lost. *Christopher Cellarius* was of Opinion, that the Name thereof was *Elam*, which is עלם in his Notes to that Chapter of *Curtius*, for the Country adjacent to it, was named *Elamais*, and so was the City too, by the Author of the *Maccabees*. But I dare not subscribe to his Judgment : And if I might be allowed to declare my Mind freely, I should own my Satisfaction in the Conjecture of Sir *John Chardin*, who, in his *Itinerarium Persicum*, thinks it was called *Fars-abad*, or *Pars-abad*, which is, *the Habitation of the Persians* ; for it is unquestionable, that the *Persians* called themselves פָּרָסִים *Pharas*, and אָבָד *Abad* signifies a *Habitation*, which Noun is often substituted in the Composition of such Names of Towns, in the *Persian* Language.



## C H A P. VII.

*Quintus Curtius never mentioned the Year, and but seldom the Season of the Year, when any great Action was performed.*

TWO Things may justly be stiled the Eyes of History, both of which being taken away, an Historian gropes in Mists, and Darknefs, and neither of them can be wanting, but to his exceeding great Discredit. The one of these, is *Geography*, whereby the Situation of Places, mentioned in an History, is laid down ; the other, *Chronology*, whereby the Years are reckoned from some noted Epochæ, and the Season when every remarkable Action was performed, carefully recorded. Of how great Use Geography is, has been already shewn, when we demonstrated the gross Errors whereinto *Curtius* has fallen, for want of a competent Skill in that Science ; and that Chronology has been as little regarded by him, as the other was understood, shall be fully proved in this Chapter. From  
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all which, this Consequence must follow, that *Curtius's* History will be a quite different Thing from those, which ought to be proposed as Patterns, or Standards. I am not ignorant, that several of the Antients may be produced, who have neither noted the Years, nor made any Distinction of the Seasons of the Year, and are held in high Esteem, notwithstanding. But let who will esteem them, such Omissions are inexcuseable, and History admits of none greater: For who can give a tolerable Judgment, when any Action was performed, especially in warm Climates, unless the Season of the Year be put down? Who can sufficiently understand the Constancy and Courage of the Soldiers, or their excessive Conflicts with scorching Heats, and chilling Colds? Who can know the Foresight of the General, in laying in good Quantities of Forrage, or his Discretion in the Distribution thereof? Who can have any Notion of a General's Expedition in a March, which is one of his chief Properties, and for which *Alexander* was so eminently known, if there be no Distinction of the Seasons, when every thing was accomplished?

2. However, *Curtius*, especially in those Parts of his Work which have come down to our Age, hath evidently neglected both; nor from his History, can the Years, and the various Seasons of each Year be gathered, any otherwise than by Guess-work, or a strict Observation of what he relates, and catching up whatever accidentally slips from his Pen, in his florid Descriptions, or, lastly, from the Series of his History. I cannot be a Judge, whether he might not have given us some Chronology of *Alexander's* Acts, in the former Books, which are lost; but when I consider those which remain, I can scarce believe he was a whit more accurate in the others. I know *Alexander's* Actions have been digested into Chronological Order, and much Light may be given to *Curtius* from thence; but he can receive no Praise from that, it being extracted, chiefly, from other Historians. However, we will, here, for once, try to digest the Seasons from him alone, whereby it may appear, both how negligent he has shew'd himself, in this Particular, and of how great Advantage it had been to his Work, had the precise Time of every several Action been set down.

3. The Battle of *Iffus* (for here we must begin, because there is not the least tittle of a Season so much as hinted at before) happened at the Approach of Winter; for a little before the Fight, when the *Greek* mercenary Forces under  
*Darius*,

*Darius*, were persuading him to divide his Troops, he answers them, among other Things, that \* “to defer the Battle would be inconvenient, because Winter was coming on, and the Country not being very fruitful, and his Army dispersed far and wide, it would be reduced to great Streights for want of Provision.” And this is also evident from what follows; for a little after the Battle, the *Gangabæ*, (for so the *Persians* call’d those who carried Burdens upon their Shoulders) in their Journey from *Damascus*, as they carried the Royal Treasure from thence, are said † not to have been able to endure the extrem Cold, (for a sudden Snow had covered the Ground, and it was hard Frost) for which Reason they wrapp’d themselves up close in the rich Garments, which were all of Gold and Purple.” We could easily shew the Time here, exactly pointed out by *Arrian*; but it was necessary we should draw it ourselves from *Curtius*, and not give our Readers the Trouble. This happened in the Year of the World, according to the *Julian* Period, 4381.

4. After this, *Curtius* tells us, in his Fourth Book, that *Syria* was subdued; then all *Phœnicia*, except *Tyre*, which was besieged by *Alexander*. The Beginning of this Siege could hardly be before the Spring; we will therefore suppose, it was in the Month of *March*; then ‖ “*Tyre*, as *Curtius* tells us, was taken in the seventh Month after the Siege was laid to it:” therefore it must be in *September*. Then *Alexander’s* Soldiers must have some few Days allowed to rest, and refresh themselves, after the Fatigues of a Siege so long, and difficult, especially considering they were then in a much hotter Climate than *Macedonia*.

5. *Alexander* then march’d forwards, to besiege § *Gaza*, which *Betis*, the Governor thereof, defended bravely; however, at last, when the Engines came to do Execution upon the Walls, the Town was carried by Storm. We will suppose, the Army refreshed themselves, as is before said, the Space of one Month, and therefore this Siege must have commenced in the Beginning of *November*, and lasted a Month; so that *Alexander* could not reach *Ægypt* before the End of *December*, or *January* in the following Year of the *Julian* Period 4382. ‡ “On the seventh Day, after he had march’d with his Forces from *Gaza*, he arrived

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 8. 8. † *Ibid.* cap. 13. 7. ‖ *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 4. 19. § *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 6. ‡ *Ibid.* cap. 6. 3.

" in the Country of *Ægypt*, which they now call'd *Alexander's Camp*." We have no Occasion to allow a long Time for his invading *Ægypt*, and settling Matters there; the *Ægyptians* readily revolted from the *Persians*, nor durst the *Persians* there, wait *Alexander's* Approach; and he tarried not to make any considerable Alterations in their Form of Government. He then resolv'd upon an Expedition to the Oracle of *Hammon*, which he might the easier perform, because the Time of that Journey was about the End of Winter, or the Entrance of the Spring: for at that Season, the Heats of the *Lybian* Wastes are tolerable; but towards the End of the Spring, and in Summer, no *Greeks* ever undertook that Journey, without having occasion to repent themselves. This had been a Circumstance worthy an Historian's Notice; but then, had *Curtius* observ'd it, his florid Description of the unusual Heats there, had been utterly lost: \* " All was scorch'd by the Heat of the Sun, when on a sudden, (whether by Chance, or the Bounty of the Gods, is uncertain) the Sky was overcast, which, tho' no Rain fell immediately, yet cool'd, and refresh'd them very much, who were ready to faint with Extremity of Heat. At last, there fell a great Shower, so that every one catch'd what he could, in Vessels, and some, who were not able to hold any, lay down on their Backs, and received the falling Drops into their Mouths." He then tells us, that, at his Return, he built † *Alexandria*, which is not unlikely, and that, according to this Account, must be in this Year, which was the Sixth of his Reign; tho' *James Usher* is of a different Opinion, as appears by consulting his *Annals*, at the Year of the *Julian* Period 4382, and before Christ 332. To bestow more Time upon this Matter, would be needless.

6. *Curtius* forgets to tell us, how long *Alexander* tarried in *Ægypt*, or what Time he spent in his March to the *Euphrates*, as also where he pass'd that River. He only says, that he encamp'd near the *Euphrates*, on the Eleventh Day, but never acquaints us, whence he begun that Reckoning. A little before the Battle of *Arbela*, he assures us, there happened an || Eclipse of the Moon, in those Parts; and § *Joseph Scaliger*, as well from Astronomical Calculations, as the Accounts of other Writers, fixes that to the Twentieth

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 7. 13.                      † *Ibid.* lib. iv. cap. 8.  
 || *Ibid.* cap. 10. 2.                      § *De Emend. Temp.* lib. v. p. 420. Ed. Rouen.

Day of *September*, in the Year 4383; and of this Opinion are *Dionysius Petavius*, and *James Usher*. *Alexander*, therefore, must have spent the Summer in *Aegypt*, and in his March to the City *Thapsacus*, (where he pass'd the *Euphrates*) and between that River, and the *Tigris*, beyond which, towards the East, this Battle was fought. However, after all, some Authors tell us, that the Battle was fought full Ten Days after the Eclipse happened.

7. Soon after this Victory, \* *Arbela* was surrender'd to *Alexander*; (this might be in the Beginning of *October*) and he tarried there some Days, to refresh his Army: "† However, the Stench of the putrified Bodies, which lay all abroad, throughout the Fields, occasioned Diseases among his Soldiers; for which Reason, he was forced to march from thence, sooner than he designed. And when the Winter approach'd, he enter'd *Babylon*, because it was much more commodious for his Army to pass into a warm Climate, at that Season, than in the Summer: " There, says *Curtius*, the Conqueror of *Asia* tarried Thirty-four Days, on purpose to fatten his Army." *Alexander*, in all Probability, tarried there the remaining Part of the Year, neither did he proceed further, unless towards the End of *November*, or *December*, or, perhaps, the Beginning of the succeeding Year.

8. Towards the Close of that Year, or the Beginning of the next, which was the Year 4384, according to the *Julian* Period, *Alexander* march'd to *Satrapene*, according to *Curtius*, or rather, *Sittacene*, a Country between the *Cossians*, and *Babylonians*, at the Head of the River *Tigris*, " || abounding in all manner of Provisions, where he resolved to continue some Time; but lest the Soldiers should let drop their Courage, for want of Exercise, he proposed Rewards, and appointed Judges of Military Performances." This Country served him for Winter-Quarters, where he refresh'd his Army, and besides other things, without doubt, laid up Plenty of Forrage, tho' *Curtius* takes not one Word of notice of any such Matter; as if *Alexander's* Soldiers had forgot that it was Winter, or could march where-ever they were order'd, without Provisions. Soon after this, he pass'd on to *Susa*, which was immediately surrender'd to him. The Spring was then, un-

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\* *Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 1. 10.

† *Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 11.

|| *Ibid.* lib. v. cap. 11. 2.

doubtedly, in some Forwardness, and in so warm a Climate, tho' it may be somewhat mountainous, the Snows must be pretty well gone, tho' they lie longest in a hilly Country. *Alexander* then entered the Territories of the \* *Uxians*, and forced *Medates*, the Prince of those Parts, to deliver it up, after some sharp Skirmishes. Then, on the Fifth Day, he came to the Streights of † *Susa*, which he gained, from *Ariobarzanes*, after a vigorous Resistance, and from thence march'd straight to ‖ *Persepolis*, which was soon-surrendered into his Hands.

9. *Persepolis* being taken, and sacked, § “ *Alexander*, “ with a Thousand Horse, and a choice Party of light-arm'd “ Foot, penetrated into the inner Parts of *Persia*, about the “ Time of the rising of the *Pleiades*; and notwithstanding “ they were vex'd with grievous Rains, and prodigious “ Tempests, he was resolved to prosecute his intended Expedition. He then came to a Place block'd up with perpetual Snows, which the Extremity of the Cold had congeal'd to Ice.” By this Cold, the Soldiers were not a little distress'd, as *Curtius* tells us at large, who never slips any Opportunity of exerting his Talent on such Descriptions. From the whole Story, we may gather, that he ought to have said, a little before the setting of the *Pleiades*. Thus *Pliny*; “ ‡ About Four and forty Days after the Autumnal “ Equinox, the setting of the *Pleiades*, begins the Winter “ Season, the Time usually commencing about the Third “ of the Ides of November.” *Curtius*'s Phrase, *Sub ipsum Sidus*, signifies rather, a little before the Rise of the *Pleiades*, than a little after, as appears from several Places in the same Author; *Sub Lucis Ortum*, a little before Daylight. In which Sense he also has, *Sub Ortum Diei*, *Sub Noctem*, and many others, as may be seen by consulting *Freinsheimius*'s Index. Perhaps he mistook the Time of the Rise of these Stars, for their Setting; for had the Time of their Rise been known to him, he could never have been guilty of such an Error: for *Pliny* says elsewhere; “ The Rise “ of the *Pleiades* are under this, in so many Degrees of “ *Taurus*, six Days before the Ides of May.”

10. In that Expedition, *Alexander* reduced the remaining Part of *Persia*; \*\* “ wherefore, on the Thirtieth Day after “ he

\* *Curt. ib. cap. 3.*

† *Ibid. cap. 3. 17.*

‖ *Ibid. cap. 5.*

§ *Ibid. cap. 6. 12.*

‡ *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 47.*

\*\* *Curt. lib. v. cap. 6. 19.* *Curtius*, very absurdly, mentions the reducing the *Mardi* here; whereas they could not be subdued before

*Hyrcania,*



" he set forth from *Persepolis*, he returned thither again ;" that is, in the Month of *December* ; there he winter'd with his Army, and burnt the Palace.

11. In the 438<sup>th</sup> Year of the *Julian* Period, towards the Beginning of the Spring, *Alexander* again begun to pursue *Darius*, (which is worthy Observation) after he had given him above a whole Year, to repair the Losses he had sustained by the War. In the mean while, he received sundry Recruits, whereby he made up the Number of his Troops, which had been diminished by several Accidents, as Battles, long Marches, Diseases, and garrisoning of Forts. He then seized the Royal Treasure, by the help of which, he was enabled to bestow such vast Rewards on his Followers, as even to allure almost all *Greece* into the Eastern Parts, in hopes of the like : He also reduced the most fertile Provinces of the *Persian* Empire, from whence he might easily have a sufficient Quantity of Provisions convey'd to him, when he was in the more remote ones. Wherefore, he determined, first to \* march into *Media*, whither † *Darius* had fled ; but hearing that *Darius* had passed into *Hyrkania*, he also hasted hither, and pursued him till the Time of his Death. This must have happened towards the Beginning of Summer ; for *Alexander* pursued *Darius* with the utmost Expedition, attended by a small Party, and left the Bulk of his Army to follow him.

12. || " No sooner was he disengaged from Business, " (for he was always more invincible in War than Peace) " but he abandoned himself to all manner of Pleasures ; " and tho' the *Persian* Arms could not subdue him, their " Vices did. He used immoderate Banquettings, and took " strange Delight in sitting up, and carousing all Night " long. He kept whole Troops of Concubines, thinking " outlandish Fashions more delicate than his own." Thus he begun to new model his Life, immediately after *Darius's* Death ; tho' in *Persia*, even while *Darius* was alive, he had, more than once, got as merry as a *Greek*, (*pergræcatus fuerat*) and in one of his drunken Fits, set the Royal Palace of *Persepolis* on Fire. In the Place where he ceased his Pursuit of *Darius*, and where he begun his intemperate

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*Hyrkania*, beyond which Country theirs lay, on the Southern Shore of the *Caspian-Sea* : wherefore he is driven to the Necessity of repeating it, *lib. vi. cap. 5. 11.* as if there had been two Nations of the *Mardi*, when all other Authors reckon but one.

\* *Curt. cap. 7. 12.* † *Ibid. cap. 13. 2.* || *Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 11. 1.*

Course of Life, he mustered his Captives, and separated the Nobility from the common Sort.

13. Some Days being thus spent, \* “ he came to *Parthiene*, and in the City *Hecatompylus*, then in a flourishing State, founded by the *Grecians*, he encamp’d, and “ had a Supply of Provisions brought from the Country “ round about them.” A Sedition then arose among the lazy Soldiers of his Army, which having quell’d, he decamp’d from thence, in all likelihood, about the Middle of Summer; “ And the † third Day after, pass’d thro’ *Parthiene*, and enter’d the Borders of *Hyrcania*.” He then run a Trench round his Camp, || and had allowed his Soldiers four Days to refresh themselves, when he received the Letters of *Nabarzanes*. He afterwards penetrated further into *Hyrcania*, where he tarried till Autumn, as appears from *Curtius’s* Words; § “ Besides other kinds of Fruit, “ wherewith that Country abounded, Apples, of a vast Bigness, grew there, and the Soil produced them in huge “ Quantities.”

14. Throughout the whole Country, he met no Enemy to give him any Trouble; however, he must have some Time to pass thro’ it: and the *Mardi*, their Neighbours, were so terrified at his Approach, that they submitted, and were received into Friendship. On the ‡ fifth Day, therefore, *Alexander* returned to his Camp. Here, *Thalestris* (if we give Credit to *Curtius*, and the Romantick Writers of these Stories) \*\* visited him, “ and having, by her winning Complaisance, engaged him to tarry with her a few “ Days, he spent thirteen with her; which done, she departed to her Dominions, and he march’d towards *Parthiene*.” Tho’ this is every tittle false, and no more than a Flourish of the lying *Greeklings*, yet we may, perhaps, gather from hence, that *Alexander* tarried some Time in *Hyrcania*, after the *Mardi* had yielded him Subjection.

15. From thence, *Alexander* march’d into *Bactria*, †† Part of which he subdued, with much Trouble, about the End of Autumn. ||| “ In that Country, says *Curtius*, “ the Army then lay, when the King, who was not only “ undaunted at all foreign Attacks, but full Proof against “ them, had well nigh fallen by a domestick Conspiracy.” This was a Conspiracy of his own Soldiers, headed by

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\* *Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11. 11. & 15.* † *Ibid. cap. 4. 2.* || *Ib. cap. 8.*  
 § *Ibid. lib. vi. cap. 4. 21.* ‡ *Ibid. cap. 5. 21.* \*\* *Ibid. cap. 32.*  
 †† *Ibid. cap. 6.* ||| *Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 3. 1, &c.*

*Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*. To examine them then, and bring them to condign Punishment, must take up some Time: The Winter must be, therefore, nigh hand, when he resolved upon his Expedition into the Country of the *Agriaspæ*, where he arrived the fifth Day after, "and where" he continued Sixty Days, new modelling the Affairs of "the *Euergetæ*." He must, therefore, of Consequence, spend the greatest Part of the Winter among them.

16. The Year following, being 4386, after a short Expedition, towards the End of Winter, which, however, is not severe in these Parts, the \* *Aracosii* were brought to Terms. This might, probably, be in *February*, or *March*, when the *Macedonians* felt an unusual Cold in that mountainous Tract; for the Colds are often felt there, towards the Beginning of the Spring. However, when the Spring came on, it was no Wonder that *Alexander* made a new Expedition into the Country of † *Parapamisus*, where, nevertheless, if we give Credit to *Curtius*, tho' the Spring was somewhat advanced, (for that, both the Series of the History, and the Historian's own Words declare) the Army were cruelly afflicted with Cold. However, be it as sharp as it would, it could not be lasting, as I have already said, and *Alexander* was not yet so intoxicated with the Thirst of Glory, as to expose himself, and his Troops, in the Middle of Winter, without any Necessity, to the Extremities of Hunger and Cold, when *Darius* was now dead, and the best, and by far the largest Part of the *Persian* Empire in his Hands. I know *Bessus* was still alive; but would *Alexander*, who was not afraid to give *Darius* a whole Year to repair his Losses, be so terrified at the Preparations of a Prince of *Bactria*, as not to allow his Army so much as one Month or two, to refresh themselves, in the Winter Season? For, that he made so much Haste, and exposed his Forces to such a degree, is full as credible to me, as that the "Country of" the *Parapamisians* lies under the utmost Northern Frozen "Zone;" that is, not far from the North Pole. The Truth of the Matter is, *Curtius*, and the *Greeks* which he copied after, did not so much regard the Season of the Year, in their Description, as the Climate: They were busy dreaming that *Alexander* was upon Mount *Caucasus*, and in the Depth of Winter; and as they had heard Stories of rigorous Colds, and sharp Winters there, they magnified

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\* *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 4.

† *Ibid.* cap. 3. 6.

every thing in their Rhetorical Way, and therefore transplanted the rigorous Colds along with Mount *Caucasus*, almost as far as *India*, and unluckily placed them in those Parts, where the *Macedonians* ought rather to have been afraid of the other Extream.

17. Thence *Alexander* march'd, with his \* Forces, to Mount *Parapamisus*, which, as we have already said, the *Macedonians* call'd *Caucasus*, and in the space of Seventeen Days pass'd over it. *Bessus* then fled beyond the River *Oxus*, and the rest of *Bactria* submitted to *Alexander*, who also pass'd the *Oxus*, and over-run divers Nations, as far as † *Tanais*, (or *Jaxyrus*) and received Homage from them; but not without much Toil and Bloodshed. Then he received an Embassy from *Scythia*, whose Territories he invaded, by crossing the *Tanais*, and worsted them in Battle. Thence he returned into *Bactria*, which having revolted, he again reduced, as also *Sogdia*, whose unaccessible Rock he gain'd by Stratagem.

18. Thus far *Currius* carries the History of *Alexander* in his Seventh Book, without any certain Account of the different Seasons: After this, as may be gather'd from the Description of the Cold, in the Sixteenth Section of the same Chapter, they spent the Summer, and Autumn of the said Year there, and perhaps Part of the Winter too. || *Arrian* tells us for certain, that *Alexander* winter'd at *Nautaca* in *Sogdia*, and when the Spring approach'd, he march'd to the *Sogdian* Rock. Wherefore the Entrance of the Year 4387, according to the *Julian* Period, may be reasonably placed before the Surrender of this Rock.

19. The *Sogdians*, and all the other neighbouring Nations being entirely reduced, *Alexander* return'd to ‡ *Maracanda*, the Metropolis of *Bactria*, his Head-Quarters: There *Clitus* was slain, and there he tarried § Ten Days, according to *Currius*, who then adds, "that he dispatch'd *Hephestion* from thence, with Part of his Forces, into *Bactria*, to provide Forrage against Winter;" as if the City *Maracanda* had not been in *Bactria*. But we will pass by that, to come to an Observation about his laying in Stores against Winter, which Circumstance ought either to have been omitted, or express'd in such a manner, as to have given a clear, and true Idea of what Season he spoke: For

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\* *Curt. lib. vii. cap. 19. 22.* † *Ibid. cap. 6.* || *Arrian, lib. iv. cap. 18.* ‡ *Curt. lib. viii. cap. 1. 7. 10.* § *Ibid. cap. 2. 12.*

unless we were assured, both by the Acts themselves, and also by *Arrian*, that a whole Year was spent between his Expedition against the *Parapamisans*, and the Surrender of the *Sogdian* Rock, any Mortal would easily imagine, he were discoursing of the Winter's Work, the Year before; for what *Alexander* accomplished in the space of these two Years, could not, with any manner of Reason or Probability, be imagined to be brought about in one.

20. The *Sogdian* Rock being given up, the \* *Massagetae*, *Dabe*, and the rest of the *Sogdians* were soon over-run; the fugitive *Bactrians*, with *Sysimitres* at their Head, were reduced to great Streights, and other Actions performed, as appears by *Curtius*: † "These being accomplished, says he, in the third Month, he drew his Army out of their Winter-Quarters, and march'd towards the Country which is call'd *Gabaza*." This must be in the Beginning of the Year 4387. A grievous Storm attack'd them in their March, which *Curtius*, according to his Custom, describes, in Language as loud and blustering as the Storm itself. Thence, *Alexander* led his Troops towards the ‖ *Sace*, and reduced their Country; and after this, entering the Province over which *Cohortanus* presided, he accepted of his Obedience, and took his Daughter *Roxane* to Wife. From that Time, he begun to bend his Mind towards leading his Army into *India*; and ‡ lest he should leave any Enemy behind him, which might create him Uneasiness, he order'd Thirty thousand young Men to be gathered out of all the Provinces he had subdued, and brought to him, each completely armed, whom he kept as Hostages, at the same time that he us'd them as Soldiers. After this, he quell'd some Insurrections, and reduced some neighbouring Countries. *Curtius* seems to intimate, as if *Alexander* received that vast Supply before he entered *India*; for he tells us, that he march'd thither, with an Army of § One hundred and twenty thousand Men. If this be true, he ought to have proclaimed this general Levy a long time before; for if a certain Number of Soldiers was to be raised out of every Province of his then wide-extended Empire, a whole Twelve-month's Time would hardly be sufficient to bring them together. In the mean time, *Hermolaus* conspired against *Alexander*, and suffered Death among the other Conspirators, his Confederates.

\* *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 1. 3.

‖ *Ibid.* sect. 20.

‡ *Ibid.* cap. 5. 1.

† *Ibid.* lib. viii. cap. 4. 1.

§ *Ibid.* cap. 4.

21. By this Time, the Summer was, undoubtedly, come, or perhaps in some Forwardness, when *Alexander* march'd into *India*: \* *Curtius* gives us that Expedition at large, to the Defeat of *Porus*, but makes no manner of Distinction of Summer or Winter Seasons, nor takes any Account of the Time which pass'd. However, as the Country between the River *Cophenes* and the *Acesines* was not large, nor the Inhabitants warlike, we may suppose, they would not detain *Alexander* long, especially considering the Vastness of his Army, which he might divide, there, without Hazard. They may therefore be supposed to have been reduced in the Summer and Autumn of that Year. Had *Curtius* delivered himself in Terms thus plain, he would have imagined he had lessened *Alexander's* Glory; but however that be, what he has asserted concerning the Strength and Puissance of some of those *Indian* Nations, had appeared false and ridiculous.

22. He has made no mention of any Winter Quarters this Year, which perhaps he might omit on purpose, because of the Warmness of the Climate. However, had he well understood the Situation of *India*, if in no other Part, especially in the more Southern Regions, near the Sea-coast, he would hardly have told us, that *Alexander* waited for the Approach of the Spring, as we shall see afterwards. From these Transactions we may reasonably conclude, that he pass'd this Year, and the succeeding one, in reducing the *Indians*, and leading his Army thro' their Country.

23. The several Occurrences after the Defeat of *Porus*, as I have already hinted, are very slenderly told by *Curtius*; so that we shall not lay such an Epitome of them before our Reader: Let him peruse them in the Ninth Book of that Author; Part of them at least, if not the Whole, may be brought into the Year 4388. † "When *Alexander* determin'd "to sail to the Ocean, his Fleet (which was station'd in a "River, Four hundred Stadia from the Mouths of the River "*Indus*) arriv'd, on the Second Day, not far from a Lake of "salt Water; wherefore *Leonatus* was dispatch'd before, to "dig Wells in several Places, where the Army was to march, "to supply them with fresh Water, because it was very scarce "in those Parts; and he, and his Forces, remain'd there, "waiting for the Approach of the Spring." It had been much better, to have performed that Journey in the Winter Season, especially considering their Winters are nothing, if compar'd

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\* *Curt. cap. 9.* to the End of the Eighth Book.  
*cap. 9. 27. cap. 10. 1. &c.*

† *Ibid. lib. ix.*

to those in *European* Countries, and their Spring must needs be as hot as the Height of Summer, in *Greece*. But *Curcius* was all the while under a wonderful Mistake, in imagining those Coasts of *India*, where the *Macedonians* then were, to be the Northern Parts of the Continent: \* “The cold North Winds, says he, mightily infest those Shores; but they are restrained by high Ridges of Mountains, so that they do not penetrate far into the inland Parts, inso- much that they are very fruitful.” He should have said the contrary; for the *Indian* Coasts are prodigiously tormented with hot South Winds, but those are check’d by a Ridge of Mountains, so that they do not penetrate so far Northward as the Fountains of the *Indus*, nigh which Parts, namely, in *Cassemira*, and the neighbouring Kingdoms, are very fruitful Tracts, well refresh’d by Northern Breezes: Here, Snows are often seen; but on the Southern Mountains no Snows fall, by reason of the Heat of the Climate. The following Passage in *Curcius*, is also false; † “That Quarter of the World, says he, varies so much from the rest, in the Seasons of the Year, that when other Parts are scorch’d with excessive Heats, it lies overwhelm’d with deep Snows, and when other Countries are pinch’d with piercing Cold, she labours under the Torment of unsufferable Heat.” Had that *India*, which was known in *Curcius*’s Time, been to the Southward, beyond the Tropick of *Capricorn*, where our modern Navigators have not yet reach’d, such Stuff might have pass’d without Examination. Every body knows, that all the Parts where *Alexander* ever came, were on this Side the Tropick of *Cancer*; and that in other Parts, between that Tropick and the *Æquator*, no Snows ever fall.

24. His Narration from hence, to the Death of *Alexander*, is still more abridged, as is evident both from *Arrian*’s History, and *Freinshemius*’s Supplement. However, the whole appears to be comprehended between the Year of the *Julian* Period 4389, and the Month of *April* in the Year following; for on the Eighteenth Day of that Month, being *Wednesday*, according to || *Joseph Scaliger*’s Calculation, he died at *Babylon*; tho’ *James Usper* will have his Death to have happened on the Twenty-second of *May*; and *Dionysius Petavius* fixes it to the Nineteenth of *June*.

\* *Curt. lib. viii. cap. 9. 12.*

† *Ibid. lib. viii. cap. 9. 12.*

|| *De Emendatione Temporum, lib. v. p. 416.*

25. If any endeavour to excuse *Currius*, by alledging, that the *Greek Writers*, which he copied from, were not, perhaps, more accurate in their Accounts of the particular Times, than he, nor could always know, at what Season of the Year, several Occurrences happened; I answer such, that I do not doubt but some *Greek Historians* may have been as careless in that respect as *Currius*; but there were, then, Books, out of which, whatever Deficiencies were in them, might have been supplied; the *αὐτοκρατορικὸν ἡμερολόγιον*, or Royal Diary, wherein was recorded what *Alexander* did every Day, and where he was. From those Records, \* *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, who came after *Currius*, (for we imagine him to have flourished about the Time of *Vespasian*) have illustrated his Life with many useful Remarks. † The Writings of *Beton*, and *Diognetus*, were also then extant, who described the several Stations of the Army, throughout the whole Expedition, and whom || *Pliny*, who was Cotemporary with *Currius*, calls the Surveyors of his March, and often quotes in his Writings. Those, *Currius* ought to have consulted, in order to have fix'd an exact Chronology of *Alexander's* Exploits; and if any thing had seem'd difficult in the Geographical Part, he might also have had recourse to them, for Satisfaction.

26. I am not ignorant, after all, that Writers do not agree, in every Particular of the Chronology of those Actions; and to apply *Currius's* own Words, concerning the Disagreement of Authors in other Affairs, to this purpose; "Great" was either the Negligence, or (which is much the same "Fault") the Credulity of those, who collected together the "scattered Memoirs of antient Times." But then, those Differences in Authors ought to have been brought to Light, and the most probable to have been chosen; or if there had appeared little or no Difference between the Probability of two Accounts, the Author should have exhibited both, and left the Decision to the Reader's Judgment. But *Currius* was more solicitous about the Elegancy of his Style, than the Accuracy of his Narration; and so were many more of the Antients, who, for that Reason, are not undeservedly censured by the Moderns.

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\* See *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, towards the Close of *Alexander's* Life.

† See *Ger. Joan. Vossius de Histor. Græcis*, lib. iv. cap. 9. and the Index of the Authors praised by *Pliny*.



## C H A P. VIII.

Quintus Curtius *uses a Declaiming Style, almost throughout his whole Work.*

THE \* Masters of Science have, long ago, taught us, that the Style of an Historian ought to be a kind of a *Medium*, between that of an Orator, and common Discourse ; so that there is no need to press that Matter further. We shall now shew, that *Curcius* has been so far from observing this Medium, that he is perpetually upon the high Extream, and ever eager of exerting his declaiming Vein; and that he did not chuse this Subject, so much to shew what was true or false in *Alexander's* History, or what was blameable or praise-worthy in the Hero, as that he might have a fair Opportunity of displaying the Elegancy of his Style, and his extraordinary Talent in Rhetorick. A multitude of Instances, which we have already brought, would be of use to illustrate this Matter, such as the numerous Descriptions which every where occur, and those always set forth in a Style entirely Rhetorical : Thus, he has described many Rivers, and the various Hardships the Army met with, by Heat and Cold, more than once over, in a rough manner. This, *Lucian* says, is a Rhetorician's peculiar Province, and that he ought not to attempt History, whose only End is to teach, and not to persuade by Ornament of Words. " As an Historian, says *Lucian*, you " ought to be exceedingly careful, (in the Description of " Mountains, or Walls, or Rivers) not to make a vain, and " useless Ostentation of Eloquence, and omitting the Series " of your History, seem to be otherwise employed. When " therefore you have but just lightly touch'd upon these " Matters, and that merely for Perspicuity sake, return " again to your Subject, wisely avoiding the Allurement of " such Things, as would divert you from the Business in " Hand." Such a Caution as this, had *Curcius* carefully

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\* Vide *John Gerrard Vossius, Artis Historie, cap. 29.*

mindcd, he had avoided one Rock, whereon he often strikes. There are several other Things in that excellent Treatise, *De Conscribenda Historia*, from whence *Curtius* might easily be criticised.

2. His History may be divided into Two Parts ; one whereof, comprehends the Historical Part, the other, the Speeches, which he has wrote in the Names of those, whom he has thought fit to introduce, for that purpose ; and he has every where declared himself a much better Orator, than an Historian, whose Business is not to write what he says, or thinks himself, even if he were present in the Action, but what was really spoke, or the true Intent and Meaning thereof. And if we can make it appear, on both these Heads, that *Curtius* declaimed, rather than related Facts, we shall fully perform what we have promised in the Contents of this Chapter.

3. To begin with the Narrative Part, I shall only produce a few Examples, and leave them as a Specimen for the Reader, whereby to find out the rest. First, he does not satisfy himself with a bare Relation of the Events, but he must run out into Exclamations, and those not short and natural ones, but long and tedious. Thus, having given an Account of *Darius's* second Defeat by *Alexander*, he adds ; “ \* What Mortal is able to bear, or what Rhetorick to enumerate all these strange Turns of Fortune ; the cruel Slaughter of Officers and Soldiers, and the Flight of those who were conquered ; besides the various Overthrows, sometimes of single Parties, and then again of whole Armies ? Fortune may be said to have brought the Business of almost a whole Age, within the Compass of that single Day.”

4. Secondly, *Hyperboles* are too frequent throughout his Work, and those not modest ones, but often stretch'd to the Size of Poetical Fictions. Thus, after he has counted the Forces of *Darius* ; † “ *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, and *Indians*, and the rest of the Borderers on the *Red Sea*, besides Nations whose Names were unknown to him, whom his Haste hindered him from mustering.” This is certainly too hyperbolical ; Nations whose Names were unknown to their Sovereign, especially in a Narrative Way. It is most certain, *Darius* knew no Part of his Empire better, than those very Borderers of the *Red Sea*, whom he mentions

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 16. 10. † *Ibid.* lib. iii. cap. 11. 9.

among the unknown ones ; for they were not far distant from *Babylon*, *Susa*, nor *Persepolis*, the usual Places of the Royal Residence : The Truth is, they were very far distant from *Curtius's* declaiming *Rostrum*, and little known to him, for which Reason, he was willing to have his Ignorance father'd upon the *Persian* Monarch.

5. *Alexander* not only deigns to weep over the Corps of *Darius's* Mother, but laments for her, as tho' she had been his own. So true it is, that Declaimers can observe no Medium. \* " The King, says he, was no less grieved, than if the News of his own Mother's Death had been brought him ; for he was seen to sigh, and shed many Tears, and with the Show of a Sorrow which *Darius* himself might have appeared in, he came into the Room where the Corps lay, and her Mother sat by, lamenting : Here, his Grief was doubled, by seeing *Darius's* Mother upon the Ground.—— Whoever had seen him, would have thought him fitter to have received, than given Comfort, which he refused, and Sustainance too, &c." One may perceive, with half an Eye, that this is too much. Had *Alexander* been so tender-hearted, he would certainly have sent *Darius's* Wife back to her Husband, his Daughters to their Father, and his Mother to her Son, which we are assured he never did : The Women would not have assisted *Darius* to have renew'd the War. *Alexander* was, therefore, either too cruel in this Case, or much too tender, in shedding Tears.

6. As to other Examples of his Hyperboles, I shall content myself with the bare Mention of them, lest I should seem too tedious, by transcribing so much out of an Author, which is in every body's Hands. See the Description of Thirst, *Book IV. Chap. XVI. Sect. 12. &c.* The Description of the Siege of *Tyre*, *Book IV. Chap. II. &c.* and compare it with what *Arrian* has wrote upon that Siege, towards the Conclusion of his Second Book. Compare his Account of the Journey over the Mountainous Tract of *Persia*, *Lib. V. Chap. IV.* with *Arrian*, *Book III. Chap. XVIII.* his Description of *Alexander's* Behaviour at the City of the *Oxydraca*, *Book IX. Chap. V.* with *Arrian*, *Book VI. Chap. IX, X.* besides a vast Number of other Places may be found throughout his History, where the Reader may reap a plentiful Harvest of *Hyperboles*.

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\* *Curt. lib. iv. cap. 10. 20.*

7. Thirdly, He not only furnishes us with a vast Stock of Poetical *Hyperboles*, but sometimes swells his Style to such an immoderate Pitch, that he loses himself, and seems to forget what he aims at. Such is what he says on *Alexander's* Return from the Temple of *Hammon*; \* “The “Royal Palace of *Memnon* and *Tithonus* drew those, who “were curious in Antiquity, almost beyond the Sun’s Limits.” That Palace of *Memnon* was no further off than *Thebes*, in *Higher Egypt*, and might easily have been seen by *Alexander*, had he thought it worth his while, to step a little out of his Way, to satisfy his Curiosity. But then, what can *Curtius* mean by his *Extra terminos Solis*? Sure, he ought rather to have said, *Intra terminos Solis*, that is, between the two Tropicks, for he must have gone Southward to it, tho’, as I hinted before, not very far. He certainly had in his Eye that Passage of † *Virgil*;

——— *jacet extra Sydera Tellus*  
*Extra anni Solisque Vias* ———

Whereby *Virgil* meant no more, than the Western Parts of *Africa*; and such Things are beautiful in a Poet, at the same time that they are abominable in an Historian.

8. His Description of a Shower, and Cold, in *Book VIII. Chap. IV.* is full of Bombast, which, for that Reason, I shall forbear transcribing. After he has told us a Story of Thunder-bolts, and Rain, and Hail, all coming down together, he thus proceeds; “The whole Army went, by Files, “up and down, thro’ the Wood; some, rather for Fear “than Weariness, fell down to the Ground; and the “Shower, as soon as it fell, was turn’d to Ice.” I shall not here stand to inquire, whether Hail usually falls, or Rains descend, or Thunder-bolts are darted down, at the Time of such excessive Colds, as he there describes, when the Drops freeze as they fall; but shall make bold to ask, first, how the *Macedonians* came to be so violently scared with a Storm, that by their Fears alone they became weary, and despaired of Safety? And then, what Defence would they find against the Cold, by lying upon the Ground, which was all covered with Ice? This whole Sentence has nothing in it but an empty Sound, and Jingle of Words; but what follows is still worse; “Some stood against the Stumps,

\* *Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 8. 3.*

† *Æneid. vi. 795.*

“ and

“ and Bodies of Trees, finding there, at once, a Prop, and  
“ Defence; and they were, at Night, to chuse a fit Place to  
“ expire in, when the Cold would let them live no longer :  
“ It was a grateful Slöth to those, who had been so much  
“ fatigued with the Journey, to find an eternal Rest.” As  
if Men chose rather to die standing like Statues, than walk  
to get themselves Heat, and keep them alive, or take the  
Pains to strike Fire with Flints! “ For the Storm not only  
“ continued its Vehemence, but also knew no Abatement.”  
But how stubborn soever the Cold was, a good Fire would  
have conquered it, or some Hours hearty walking rendered  
it tolerable. “ But besides the Tempest, which rendered  
“ the Day as if it had been Night, the Shadiness of the  
“ Woods contributed not a little to the making all dark  
“ round them.” These must be the Shades of naked  
Trunks of Trees, and bare Boughs, without Leaves; for  
there could be no other, at that Season of the Year, when  
the Soldiers, who were born in a cold Clime, if compared  
with *India*, and inured to innumerable Hardships, were  
ready to die with Cold. But how could the Shade of bare  
Trees, without Leaves, be so much, as to rob those beneath  
them of the Light? Sure, *Curtius* was in a Dream here,  
and forgot that when Trees are fully covered with Leaves,  
no such Cold as he describes, ever happens. “ The King  
“ alone, (for he was the only Man, among the whole Army,  
“ who was not rendered insensible by the Cold) was able to  
“ bear so great a Misfortune.” But what was, at last, done,  
in so great Distress? Listen to the Rhetorician; “ But  
“ Necessity, which is of more Efficacy, sometimes, than  
“ Reason, found out a Remedy against the Cold; for they  
“ fell to cutting down the Wood with Hatchets, and having  
“ made Heaps thereof, every where about, they set them on  
“ Fire.” These *Macedonians* were as stupid, as if they had  
sprung out of the Earth but a Day before, who could not  
devise a Remedy against Cold, but what Necessity, rather  
than Reason, forced them to find out, namely, the Art and  
Mystery of kindling a Fire, to keep themselves warm.  
*Curtius* might have added mightily to this Miracle, if he  
had told us, that the Fire was not kindled by human Hands,  
(for tho’ they were numb’d with Cold, their Brains were  
full as numb) but by Lightning from Heaven, as among  
the first Men, according to the Poet;

\* *Fulmen detulit in Terras mortalibus Ignem  
Primitus; inde omnis Flammarum deditur ardor.*

A Style thus blown up into Bombast, becomes insipid. But why should we wonder at it; for *Curtius*, elsewhere, makes use of vast Circumlocution, to tell us, that the *Macedonians* kindled a Fire, to preserve them from Cold. † “ Their  
“ Tents being pitch’d in a woody Place, before the Walls,  
“ a Cold more vehement than any they had yet felt, seiz’d  
“ them, for which, the Fires they made, were a very season-  
“ able Remedy; for having cut down many Trees, they  
“ kindled huge Fires: These caught hold on the Sepulchres,  
“ which were of Cedar, and burnt them to the Ground.” Any other Author would only have told us, that it was so excessively cold that Night, that the *Macedonians* made greater Fires than ordinary, to keep themselves warm: But *Curtius*, by endeavouring to raise an humble Subject, by mere Dint of a Rhetorical Style, renders his Description as cold as the Weather. Besides, what can he mean by his *Flamma igni alita*? || *Tanaquil Faber*, indeed, reads it *Lignis alita*; but even this is cold, and dull; for what Occasion had he to tell his Readers, that the Flame was nourished by Wood? Who knew not this before? But to return to his former Description of Cold, the following Paragraph is enough to choak any Miracle monger in *Europe*;  
“ § Some, they say, were found standing against the Trees,  
“ not only as if they were alive, but as if they were talking  
“ to one another, still retaining the same Posture they were  
“ in, when Death seiz’d them.” Such a Cold, in an *Indian* Wood, was as severe, as it could have been under the North Pole, and had the same Effect as the Sight of *Medusa’s* Head, namely, to turn living Men, in a Moment, into Statues; but what adds prodigiously to the Miracle is, that they who could stand, seem’d to have no Inclination to walk, but had rather starve where they stood, than move from the Place, to light themselves a Fire. In the following Paragraph, I fancy, there is a Fault in the Original, and it certainly must be so, unless *Curtius’s* Brains were frozen, when he wrote it: “ It happened that a *Macedonian* Soldier, carrying himself, and his Arms, came into the Camp.”

\* *Lucretius, lib. v.*

† *Curtius, lib. viii. cap. 10. 7.*

|| *Epist. Critica, pars i. epist. 55.*

§ *Curt. lib. viii. cap. 4. 7.*

Nothing can be more stupid, than his *Se, & arma sustentans*: How could a Soldier march any where, without sustaining himself, and Armour? However, *Bartholomew Merula's* Edition has set that right; *Vix se & arma sustentans*; either from the Authority of some Manuscript Copy, or by Conjecture. Several other Remarks might still be made, on this Description; but what we have already said, places the Matter, so far as we at present intend, in a true Light. We will, therefore, close this Observation, with the Judgment of a celebrated Critick; \* "An unnatural Swelling seems to be the most difficult thing for a Writer to avoid; for whoever affect a Loftiness of Style, and strive, by that means, to aggrandize their Subject, lest it should seem low and groveling, swell insensibly into the other Extream, and persuade themselves,

"That to fail in great Attempts, is glorious.

"However, a Tumour is destructive in Oratory, as well as in the Body; it is hollow and spongy, and destitute of good Blood, and often throws us into the contrary Distemper; for no Drought is comparable to his, who has a Dropsy."

9. They who aspire too earnestly at an unusual Majesty of Style, frequently neglect somewhat much more material, and fall into Solecisms: Such are frequent in *Curtius*, a few whereof we shall produce as a Specimen. He enters upon his Fifth Book thus; "Many memorable Acts were, in the mean time, performed in *Greece, Thrace, and Illyria*, under the Conduct, and Command of *Alexander*, which, to relate in their Order, would interrupt the Thread of my History of the Affairs in *Asia*." Whoever understands *Latin*, knows, those Things are said to be performed *ductu imperioque Ducis*, which were performed by himself in Person, and *auspiciis Ducis*, which were acted by his Lieutenants; which Word ought to be taken notice of, in this Place, because the Speech is concerning Acts done by *Antipater*, while *Alexander* was in the furthest Parts of *Asia*. If *Curtius* be allowed to be Judge in his own Cause, he condemns himself in this, as appears by a Passage *Lib. VI. Chap. III. 2.* where he introduces *Alexander* speaking thus; "Not to mention the *Illyrians, the Triballi, the Bœotians, Thracians, Spartans, Greeks, and Peloponne-*

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\* *Longinus de Sublimit. cap. 3. sect. 9.*

"*fians*, some of whom I subdued (*ductu meo*) by my own Conduct, in Person; others (*imperio auspicioque*) by Officers commissioned for that Purpose." But even here, the Word *Imperio* had much better have been omitted, as differing little from *Ductu*. See the Difference between *Ductu* and *Auspiciis*, in *Iustus Lipsius, De Militia Romana, Lib. II. Dial. 12.*

10. In another Place, he thus expresses himself; \* "In an Instant, the Shower ceased; but, nevertheless, the (*Nubes*) Clouds continued so thick, as to obscure the Light, so that they could scarce see one another, as they talk'd together." He ought to have said (*Nebulas*) Mists, instead of (*Nubes*) Clouds; the *Nebule*, or Mists, frequently descend to the Earth, the *Nubes* are higher. I know, the Poets often confound these two Words, but not without committing an Impropriety in Speech, which Fault is much less pardonable in an Historian. *Isidore* puts this Matter beyond dispute; † "*Nebula*, is so called, as is also *Nubila*, *ab obnubendo Terram*, from obscuring or darkening the Earth, or because when it mounts aloft, it composes *Nubes* (Clouds): The moist Vallies exhale *Nebulas*, Mists, which become Clouds—for *Nebule* fall low in a Calm, and rising high, the Air proves *nubilam*, cloudy." And thus *Livy* has it; "A Morning- (*Nebula*) Mist, which obscures the Earth, as the Day goes forward, rises aloft into (*Nubes*) Clouds."

11. There is one Impropriety very frequent in *Curtius*, and that is, his calling the Royal Tent, or Pavillion, by the Name of *Regia*: Which Word, undoubtedly, signifies a Palace, and was never used for a Tent, by any other Author. *Paulus Diaconus* tells us, that *Regia* is the House where the King resides. *Curtius* had, therefore, much better have call'd it *Regium Tentorium*, or *Prætorium*.

12. But there is no Impropriety of Speech less tolerable throughout his Book, (if the Passage be uncorrupt) than what he relates of *Dioxippus*, when he calls him, ‖ "A noble Champion, who, by reason of the *eximiam virtutem Virium*, was both well known to the King, and well received by him." No Author upon Earth ever said *virtutem Virium* before: but as one Manuscript in the *Palatine Library* has *virium Magnitudinem*, I imagine it

\* *Curtius, lib. ix. cap. 14. 24.*

‖ *Curt. lib. ix. cap. 7. 16.*

† *Isidore, lib. xiii. cap. 9.*



bought to be wrote *eximiam Virtutem, viriumque magnitudinem*; for thus *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of this *Dioxippus*, and his Antagonist; \* “As both of them were extremely remarkable, as well for their Strength of Body, as Courage, it was thought, that the Combat between them would prove like those of the Gods.” I am not ignorant, that *Virtus* is sometimes used to denote the Properties or Efficacy of a Thing, as when Physicians discourse (*de Virtutibus*) of the Properties or Qualities of their Herbs, or Medicaments; but *Virtus virium* is a Phrase which no Author ever used, besides himself. This manner of speaking can be defended no way, but by calling it a *Grecism*; for among the *Greeks*, any Property is term’d ἀρετή, and perhaps it may not be improper to say, διὰ τὴν διαφύρατον ἀρετὴν ἰσχυρόν, *propter eximiam virtutem Virium*, as *Plato* says, δι’ ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, *propter præstantiam formæ Reipublicæ*. But *Curtius* never seems to gape after *Grecisms* so much, as to introduce a Manner of speaking altogether out of Use, and almost unknown among the *Latins*.

13. Fifthly, *Curtius* falls into the common Fault of the † Declaimers of his Age, which was to be abundantly too full of his Apothegms, or wise Sayings, which he not only introduces in his Speeches, but throughout all the Narrative Parts of his History, as well directly as obliquely. I shall not trouble my Reader with Examples of this; they are every where to be met with, and distinguished by having their first Word printed in Capitals, in some of the finest Editions of his Work, that they may be known, even to School-boys. I shall only add, that lest the too frequent Number of direct ones should disgust the Reader, he has sometimes brought them in, in a negative manner, tho’ hereby, for the sake of Variety, he has almost ruined the Sense. Thus, for Example, speaking concerning those, who had slain *Parmenio*, and who were also accused of other Crimes, before *Alexander*, he says; || “Many of *Alexander’s* Friends rejoiced, that Vengeance was fallen upon those Ministers of Vengeance, neither can any Power acquired by unjust Means, remain long in Possession.” The direct Meaning is, “No Power acquired by unjust Means, can remain long in Possession:” And thus the Sense is fully and clearly expressed. But in order to intro-

\* *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. p. 567.* † See *Quintilian, lib. ix. cap. 5.*  
 | *Curt. lib. x. cap. 1. 6.*

duce it in a negative manner, and fit the whole Sentence to one Event, the general Words therein contained (to speak logically) ought either to be changed to particular ones, or omitted. He ought, therefore, to have said,—“ They rejoiced, that Vengeance was returned upon those Ministers of Vengeance, and that a Power thus acquired by unjust Means, was not lasting :” For otherwise, when it is expressed in general Terms, notwithstanding it is wrested into a negative Form, it still stands aloof off from the Body of the Sentence, and seems quite of another Piece.

14. These, and such like Things, are worthy of diligent Observation, for fear we should lay a Stress upon such Passages, as are unfitly or unaccurately expressed. Thus, for Example, *Curtius* expresses himself, concerning *Darius's* Flight after the Battle of *Iffus*; \* “ Fear fell upon the rest, and they betook them to their Heels, and fled, some one Way, some another ; they then threw down those Arms, as an Hinderance to their Flight, which they had, just before, put on, to secure their Bodies from Danger : the same Fear seized the auxiliary Troops.” The Sentence in the Original is, *Adeo Pavor etiam Auxilia formidabat*. Some Dutch Editions have changed the last Word into *formidat* : And thus that excellent Critick *Tanaquil Faber* imagines it ought to be read ; † “ It is, says he, a Sentence which belongs to all Men, in all Ages ; for whoever quits his Post for Fear, will naturally throw away his Arms, for the sake of Expedition.” But the same Reason holds good for an Alteration in the former Passage, which none has yet attempted to make.

15. I now come to his Speeches, and dare averr, no Author of the same Bulk has such a Number of direct ones, as *Curtius* : but before I enter upon this Task, I must assure my Readers, that I am entirely of the Opinion of those Gentlemen, who would have all Speeches, as well direct ones, as others, omitted in a grave History, unless they were really spoke, Word for Word, or, at least, be the unfeigned Sentiments of him who spoke them. || I am not to be told, what learned Men have wrote upon this Subject, to persuade us, that an Historian may lawfully put Speeches into the Mouths of those, concerning whom he writes, not such as they really spoke, but such as they might have

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 6. 12. † *Epist.* li. pars 1.

| See *Johan. Gerr. Vossius*, in *Arte Historiæ*, cap. 20, 21.

spoke.

spoke, or such as the Historian judges they ought to have spoke, as fittest for the Matter in hand; tho' at the same time, they own, that most of those, supposed to make Speeches, are far inferior to the Writer, in Eloquence. I am also sensible, that many of the Antients have interspersed such Speeches throughout their Histories; but if we have a Value for Truth, the Elegancy of the Speeches we read there, (even by their own Way of arguing, who approve of them in History) is enough to prove their Illegitimacy: for I can see no Reason, why a Man who requires such strict Truth in all other Parts of History, should be willing to allow of Lyes in set Speeches; and I can never be brought to think it any less Lye, to make a Man speak what he never spoke, because he ought to have spoke it, as to describe him doing what he never did, merely because he ought to have done it. Were it probable, that the Persons, whose Lives or Actions they write, made use of the same Reasons, or the same Motives, which the Historians ascribe to them, in the Speeches they make for them; yet, at least, those Historians ought to speak themselves, and give their Readers a Caution, that these, or the like, were the Reasons, wherewith those (whose Lives or Actions they write) were induced to do, what then they did. If they acted in this Manner, none could complain of being misled by them, notwithstanding their Judgment or Penetration might, sometimes, fall short of what it ought: The Reasons above-mentioned will obscure no Light, which can be afforded to History, neither will any less Advantage accrue to the Readers; for nothing can be said in direct Speeches, which may not be expressed as fully, and commodiously in some plain narrative Way, by a due Chain of Reasoning.

16. Such fictitious Speeches are so far from advancing Truth, which ought to be regarded by an Historian, as the chief End of his Work, that they come not up even to Probability: for what can be imagined more absurd, than to introduce Idiots and Barbarians expressing their Minds in Terms full as elegant, as if they had studied Rhetorick all their Lives? What can be more stupid, or ridiculous, than to hear all, whom an Historian introduces as Speech-makers, haranguing with the same Force of Eloquence? and this not only the Readers of *Curcius*, but of all Historians of that Stamp, may take notice of. If Custom would argue for these Things, sure Reason, and even the Observation of *Decorum*, plead strongly against them, and complain, that

Truth is so far from being illustrated by such Ornaments of Falshood, that she is, thereby, evidently corrupted.

17. From the same Cause it happens, that injudicious Historians offend against the Rules of Probability, another Way: Wherefore *Callisthenes*, who is cited by *Athenæus*, in his Discourse of Machines, advised him, "who proposes to treat upon a Subject, by no means to wander from it; but frame his Discourses suitable, as well to the Person, as to the Circumstances of Time, and Action." But when Historians bestow their own Eloquence on all, they not only make the Learned, and Ignorant talk alike, but as their Wit and Disposition is turn'd chiefly one Way, and they do not easily assume those of others, of various sorts, all, into whose Mouths those Speeches are put, speak not their own Sentiments, but the Writer's. In *Curtius*, all are Declaimers, and speak the Writer's Sense of Things, and not their own: *Darius* declaims; *Alexander* declaims; the Soldiers declaim; even the \* *Scythians*, the rudest, and most illiterate of all Mankind, fall upon us with Rhetorical Flourishes. This brings to my Mind the Story of a Family who were all Singers: Those who wash'd the Feet of the Guests, struck up an Air, and were answered by those who pared their Nails, and cut their Corns; If a Boy had a Request to make to his Father, it was done in a musical Strain, and some other immediately join'd in the Chorus, insomuch that you would have taken it for a Nursery of *Pantomimes*, rather than an ordinary Family. Thus, in *Curtius*, all are eloquent Men, and Rhetoricians, all pour forth whole Volumes of wise Sayings, upon every Occasion, and, oft-times, without any visible Occasion at all.

18. This is not all, for as soon as Historians have once accustomed themselves to this Liberty, they, insensibly, fall into greater. They, who are wont to accommodate their own Wit, and their own Manner of speaking, to the Speakers, by degrees begin to bestow their own Prudence and Caution upon the Actors, and contrive the Circumstances of History to suit their own Inclinations, whenever they find them otherwise, in antient Authors; and by this means, History is, in a great measure, changed to Romance. And if a Writer of this sort, happens, at any time, to be deficient in his Knowledge of the Things, Times, or Places, he not only intrudes Lyes upon the Publick, but sometimes Stories

\* *Athen. p. 2. Edit. Paris.*

† *Curt. lib. vii. cap. 8.*

Inconsistent with the Nature of Things. Has my Reader a mind for an Example of this sort, from *Curtius*? I will furnish him with a couple: The first is, that remarkable Saying of *Orsines*, Governor of *Perfogade*, who \* met the “ King, with Store of all kinds of choice Gifts, not only “ for himself, but his Friends; and when he had bestowed “ Presents upon every one, beyond what they could have “ expected, except *Bagoas* the Eunuch, who was *Alexander’s* “ Paramour, and consequently his Favourite, and being told “ by some, how dear he was to *Alexander*, answered, that “ he bestowed Presents upon the King’s Friends, and not his “ Catamites, and that it was not the Custom of *Persia*, to “ shew Regard to a Man who had submitted to the Lewd- “ nefs of another: Whereupon, the Eunuch made use of the “ Power he had acquired, by Wickedness and Debauchery, “ to procure the Death of a *Persian* truly noble, and deserv- “ ing.” This Answer of *Orsines* was really generous, and might have suited a *Macedonian*; but the Mischief is, no *Persian* could speak thus, who knew that *Darius* owed his Kingdom to another *Bagoas*, and had been too familiar even with this. How could *Curtius* persuade himself, that a *Persian* Nobleman, who had ascended to the highest Honours in the Kingdom, could be ignorant of this, when many † *Greek* Authors have recorded it? and he has not pass’d it over; for thus he introduces *Alexander* speaking, in his Third Book; || “ Even *Darius* himself did not ob- “ tain the Kingdom of *Persia* by Inheritance, but was “ placed upon the Throne of *Cyrus*, by the Assistance of “ *Bagoas*, an Eunuch.” And in the Tenth Section of the very next Chapter, in one of *Nabarzanes’s* Letters, we are told, that “ *Darius* having slain *Bagoas*, excused himself of “ the Fact, by telling the Populace, that he had been guilty “ of treasonable Practices.” And again, in the Twenty-third Section of the Fifth Chapter, among other Presents, wherewith *Nabarzanes* is said to have endeavoured to appease *Alexander*, one, in particular, was “ *Bagoas*, an Eu- “ nuch of singular Beauty, and in the very Bloom of Youth, “ with whom *Darius* had already been familiar, as *Alexan- “ der* was afterwards.” ‡ *Teridates*, an Eunuch, was also a Favourite of *Artaxerxes*, as *Ælian* assures us in his History of *Aspasia*. From these Instances, every one may perceive,

\* *Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 1. 24.

|| *Curt.* lib. v. cap. 3. 12.

† See *Freinsh. Suppl.* lib. ii. cap. 1. 1.

‡ *Ælian. Var. Hist.* lib. xii. cap. 1.

that *Curtius* feigned an Answer contrary to the Nature of the Thing, by endeavouring to hammer out a Speech worthy of a Descendant of *Cyrus*, and one raised to the highest Pitch of Honour in the Empire: Or if the Case was otherwise, and that he did not make the Speech, he transcribed it from somebody else, who was as ignorant of the Matter as himself.

19. *Curtius* is over-lavish of his Gifts to *Alexander*, and by bestowing too much Foresight upon him, makes him give very foolish Directions, when we are sure none such were given; considering how well the Matter was known among the *Macedonians* at that Time. "*Alexander*, says he, a little before his Death, grasping vast Things in his Mind, had determined, as soon as all the Sea-coast, towards the East, was reduced, to invade *Africa* from *Syria*, being offended at the *Carthaginians*," and to do other Things in the West, which *Curtius* gives us an Account of, *Book X. Chap. 1. 17.* Which Expedition, thus conceived in his Mind, that he might be able to bring about, "He gave Orders to the Governors of *Mesopotamia*, to cut down Wood from Mount *Libanus*, and convey it to *Thapsacus*, a City of *Syria*, there to lay the Keels and build large Ships, all of them of † Seven Banks of Oars, and thence, carry them down the Stream to *Babylon*." I shall not say, that he ought rather to have sent this Order to the Governor of *Syria*, under whose Jurisdiction Mount *Libanus* was; but who cannot perceive the glaring Folly of our Rhetorician, in pretending to build *Septireme* Gallies upon the *Euphrates*, that, from *Syria*, they might go against *Africa*, which is in the *Mediterranean*? However, the Matter, you may say, is not altogether so bad as it appears to be; for *Arrian*, in his Seventh Book, assures us, that that Fleet was designed against the *Arabians*, and to plant Colonies along the *Persian* Gulph; and perhaps *Curtius* intended the same, by those Words, "All the Sea-coast towards the East, being overcome." However that be, the Matter was worthy to have been explain'd by more Words, to have avoided all Ambiguity; for otherwise, *Curtius* will be brought in guilty of an unpardonable Error in Geography, who could be in-

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† Whoever knows what a *Septireme* Ship is, will easily grant, that none such can sail out of the *Euphrates*. The very largest Vessels, which *Arrian* mentions, were no bigger than *Quinqueremes*, and of these there were only two. *Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 19.*

duced to believe, that a Fleet might sail out of the River *Euphrates*, by a short Cut, to *Carthage*: But that he believed this, seems very probable, by the Bigness of the Ships there mentioned; for few bigger were ever seen in the *Mediterranean*, and none so big were fit for the Channel of the *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*.

20. These Remarks we have thought necessary to make upon the Style of *Curcius*; and we could have illustrated them with more Examples, or have prosecuted the Matter much further, had not his History been in every body's Hands, and what we have said so apparent, that whoever understands *Latin* has no occasion to be told, that our Observations are just. However, we have not here gone about to detract, either from the Elegancy of his Style, or the Roundness of his Sentences, or endeavoured to deter Boys from reading him, only let them read him as a Rhetorician, where the Style is chiefly to be considered; and let them also, if they please, collect from him as many wise Sayings as they can; they are much too frequent, throughout the Work, and generally injudiciously placed. However, I would not have them to look upon him as an Historian, studious of Truth, whom they may confide in, nor, by any means, propose him as a Pattern for their Imitation throughout, if they design to make a Figure in that sort of Knowledge.





## C H A P. IX.

Quintus Curtius *rather praised Alexander's excessive Ambition, than dispraised it: Some famous Passages of Seneca, and Lucan concerning it.*

AS History is intended not so much for Delight as Instruction, Historians ought cautiously to observe its Laws, and either condemn the Vices of him, whose Acts they undertake to rehearse, or, at least, describe them in such a Manner, that the Reader may know them to be Vices, and detest them as such: Nor is he only to be told, that those are Vices, which are flagrant, and conspicuous, but such also as are more secret, and lurk under the Mask of Virtues. Among the first sort, were the Drunkenness, Pride, and Cruelty, which appeared in *Alexander* after *Darius's* Death, which *Curtius* often condemn'd: But of the latter, was that insatiable Thirst of Sovereignty, which spurr'd *Alexander* on, to make War, not only against the *Persians*, but a vast number of other Nations, who had never injured him, nay, who had hardly ever heard of him before. In that Case, his Pride, Injustice, Cruelty, and Ignorance of himself, were join'd with such a Contempt of all divine and human Right, that nothing could be a worse, or more destructive 'Crime. This was the Cause why innumerable innocent Families, Cities, and Nations, were cruelly and inhumanly ravaged, spoiled, and, sometimes, put to the Sword. Great and populous Kingdoms, by this single Vice of his, have been deliver'd up to insolent, lustful, cruel, and rapacious Soldiers, and Governors. Notwithstanding all which, most of the *Greek* Writers of his Life, are so far from condemning those Devastations and Robberies, that they have described a haughty Monarch, and a blood-thirsty Army, (because they committed their Actions boldly) as a Race of Heroes; and *Curtius* comes not a whit behind them, in that Case; for how much he approved those Crimes, is manifest, by the excessive Encomiums he has pass'd upon them: But if he had been as well versed in *Ethicks*, as he would have us believe



believe him to have been, he would have made use of those mighty Numbers of moral Sentences, wherewith he has interlarded his Work, to a better Purpose, and have wiped off that adulterate Daubing, wherewith a parcel of chattering *Greeklings* had besmear'd him, and not suffered himself to be so hurried away with the vulgar Cry, as to dress up the most execrable Vices, in the Habit of Virtues, and commend them accordingly. Even in this Case, he has shew'd himself a Declaimer, by following outside Appearances, and applauding Things which please the Vulgar, rather than those which give Satisfaction to the Wise and Judicious.

2. But some may, perhaps, object, that we require those things from a Heathen, which never came within the reach of a Heathen's Knowledge. This we can no way better confute, than by producing the Testimonies of Heathen Authors, antienter than *Curtius*: Their Sentiments of these Matters, are fit to be read here, and every where; for even at this Day, some Christians are not much better fighted than he; wherefore, we shall not think our Time ill spent, if we transcribe the Passages at large.

3. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristotle* wrote some Letters to *Alexander*, to allay the Pride of his Heart; and I wish he had transcribed them throughout; for from them it would have plainly appeared, what that Philosopher, who best knew him, thought concerning him. The little which *Plutarch* has given us, is very obscure; but it was, perhaps, contrived so on purpose to exercise the Faculties of the furious Youth to whom it was directed. "It is not so much allow'd," says he, to those who govern a large Empire, to think themselves great, as to those who have true Notions concerning the Gods." Such noble Sentiments are of excellent Use towards publick and private Enemies.

Δυσήμων δὲ τὴν πᾶσις ἐμὴν μένει ἀρσίαν.

*Fate throws the wretched Race upon our Swords.*

No less excellent is *Agésilas's* Saying of the *Persian* King, who was stiled Great: "None, says he, is greater than I, unless he be better." *Aristotle*, if I judge right, aim'd chiefly at these two Things; first, that they ought not to grow proud, who had conquered vast Countries, as *Alexander* had done, unless their Piety towards the Gods was also eminent, which it is notorious *Alexander's* was not, he being always ambitious of aspiring to an Equality with them;

them: And, secondly, that no Glory was justly due to those, who sway'd vast Empires, unless they were also just, and beneficent, neither of which *Alexander* was: For if we compare his Beneficence with the Miseries he brought upon the Innocent, he will never avoid being deem'd the Rod of divine Vengeance, so far was he from being esteem'd the Darling of Mankind. For those few Soldiers, or Blood-Hounds, for a few Whores, Sycophants, or Tyrants, whom he enrich'd with Gifts, or held in Favour, how many Thousand Men, and whole Families has he ruined, plundered, cruelly tormented, and butchered? All, who durst attempt to defend their own Possessions against his Rapaciousness, were rendered miserable; and therefore *Aristotle* could no way better describe that mischievous Disposition of his, than by one of *Homer's* Verses, which he puts in the Mouth of *Achilles*, just such another hair-brain'd Youth as himself;

*Fate throws the wretched Race upon our Swords.*

seeing he had made innumerable Parents childless, by slaying their Sons, in the Flower of their Age, while they were endeavouring to defend their Country, in a just and lawful War. None, sure, will say, that that Man is just, who grasps at all, and claims every thing for his own, who imagines he alone was born to universal Monarchy, and that all Mankind besides, ought to bow their Necks to receive his Yoke. Such a one might be excellently drawn, in those two Lines which *Horace* intended for the Pourtraiture of *Achilles*;

*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,  
Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arrogat Armis.*

De Arte Poetica.

Such a one, were his Empire never so wide, you may well pronounce less than the *Spartan* King, observing the Bounds of Justice, according to the wise Judgment of *Agésilas*. That this was *Aristotle's* Opinion, I am induced to believe, tho' it be but darkly hinted at, because, perhaps, he was afraid of his haughty Pupil's Resentment.

4. I cannot forbear wishing, that *Cicero's* Books *de Republica*, were extant: We might there, undoubtedly, read the true Sentiments of that great Man, concerning *Alexander*, as may be gathered from a Fragment, preserved from the Third Book of that Work, by *Nonius Marcellus*: It is the  
Answer

Answer of a Pyrate, whereby *Alexander* might learn, what Difference there was betwixt himself and such Men. "For when he ask'd the Pyrate, By whose Authority he durst infest the Seas, with one Gally? By the same, answered the Pyrate, wherewith you infest the World." I doubt not but *Cicero* allowed the Answer to be just, because that Grammarian gives us this Sentence out of the same Book; "It is a kind of unhappy Slavery, when we see those Things which we have a Right to, in another's Possession." Which Words may well be applied to those free People, who were forced to stoop to *Alexander's* Yoke.

5. But now give Ear to *Seneca*, who attacks his insatiable Avarice much more warmly, (for I pass by his other Vices) and condemns it: "When that great Conqueror of the East, lifted his Heart above Mankind, the *Corinthians* or *Megarians* sent an Embassy to congratulate him, and withal, complimented him with the Freedom of their City; and when he smiled at this, as a ridiculous Offer, one of the Embassadors told him, they had never offered the Freedom of their City to any but to him, and *Hercules*; whereupon he freely accepted the proposed Honour, not so much considering those who had made him free of their City, as himself, thus made free." A Man thus devoted to the Pursuit of Glory, without knowing its Nature, and Tendency, and tracing the Footsteps of *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*, without knowing where to stop, when he went beyond these, look'd upon the Authors of his Honour, as only Sharers with him therein, as if he had gain'd Possession of all that he vainly grasp'd in his Mind, because he had reach'd further than *Hercules*: " \* To whom, says *Seneca*, could that mad Youth be liken'd, who had only a fortunate Rashness, instead of true Courage? *Hercules* conquered nothing for himself; he pass'd over the Earth indeed, not to enslave it, but to set it free. Whom did he overcome? He was a Scourge to Tyrants, a Defender of good Men, the grand Appealer of the Earth, and Seas! But this Man (*Alexander*) was a THIEF AND ROBBER OF NATIONS, from his Infancy, the Destroyer of his Friends, as well as Enemies, who placed his chief Happiness in being deem'd a Terror to Mankind, without considering that not only the fiercest, but sometimes the most sluggish Animals, are dreaded, for their evil Dispositions."

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\* *De Beneficiis, lib. i. cap. 13.*

6. As this was *Alexander's* Ambition, and all his Designs tended this Way, it is something strange, that *Curtius* should introduce him, just before the Battle of *Iffus*, calling his Soldiers, \* the Asserters of the World's Liberty, as if the *Macedonians* had ever had the Liberty of any Nations at Heart ! However, *Alexander* continued not long in that Mind ; for he, soon after, speaks his true Sentiments, in a quite contrary manner, and tells his Followers, that " they " were to pass beyond the Bounds of *Hercules*, and *Bacchus*, " and not only lay their Yoke upon the *Persians*, but all " other Nations." So that these Asserters of the World's Liberty, were now making War with a Design to impose a Yoke of Slavery upon all Nations. But as *Hercules* was mentioned, and *Curtius* compared the *Macedonians* to him, he was obliged to call them the *Asserters of the World's Liberty* ; but Truth afterwards forced him to change his Note, and represent them as designing to impose their Yoke upon the World. Thus, Declaimers, who are daily accustomed to mix Truth with Fiction, are not always consistent with themselves. But now let us return to *Seneca*.

7. Left our Readers should imagine, that such a severe Passage slipped unadvisedly, or accidentally from *Seneca's* Pen, he falls as severely upon him, in other Places ; † " Tho' " *Alexander*, says he, extended his Conquests beyond the " *Red Sea*, he wanted more than he had won : For even " those Provinces were not his own, which he had overcome, " and held in Possession, while *Onesicritus* the Admiral of " his Fleet, was in Search after new Lands, and endeavouring to find fresh Wars on unknown Shores. Was it not a " certain Sign that he was poor, who must push his Conquests beyond the Bounds of Nature ? Who wilfully " plung'd himself into an immense, unfathomable, and undiscover'd Ocean, to satisfy the unreasonable Demands of " his Avarice ? What Advantage gain'd he by all the " Nations he over-run, and all the Kingdoms he made " Tributary to him ? What Things he coveted, those he " wanted."

8. And in his One hundred and nineteenth Epistle, he exclaims full as bitterly against him ; " That Man, says he, " has never too little, who is satisfied with what he enjoys ; " and none can have enough, who is not satisfied. After " the Conquest of *Darius*, and the *Indies*, *Alexander* is

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\* *Curt. lib. iv. cap. 10. 5.*

† *De Benef. lib. vii. cap. 2.*

" still

“ still poor : He seeks other Kingdoms to conquer ; he  
 “ searches unknown Seas, sends forth new Fleets into the  
 “ Ocean, and, if I may be allowed to say so, bursts thro’  
 “ the Barriers of the World. The Bounds of Nature are  
 “ not strong enough to confine his haughty Mind : He will  
 “ still find something to covet, after all his Conquests. Such  
 “ is the Blindness of our Understandings, and such is the  
 “ Forgetfulness of all, of their narrow Beginning, while  
 “ their Ambition spurs them forward ! He who was, but  
 “ lately, Lord of a small, and inconsiderable Corner of the  
 “ World, and held not that without Trouble, returns now  
 “ from the remotest Parts of the Earth, thro’ his own Terri-  
 “ tories, and is not yet contented.”

9. From these Instances, it is evident, that *Alexander's* insatiable Avarice of others Properties, and the Boldness, and Arts he made use of, in invading them, join'd with the Power he had, which he converted to mischievous Purposes, were his far greatest Crimes, and the more destructive, the further they extended ; yet notwithstanding all this, if we will listen to Rhetoricians, and Poets, they were heroick Virtues, whereby *Alexander* was almost entitled to a Place among the immortal Gods. They alledge, that all his other Vices were so qualified by these, (which were really Vices themselves, screen'd under the borrow'd Names of Courage, and Military Knowledge) that they scarce allow him to be tax'd with them. Thus, to see the Folly of the World ! small Vices shall be excused, for the sake of those of a deeper Dye, as if they should set a Man at Liberty, who was accused of Theft, because he had committed Murder.

10. 'Tis true, *Seneca* could never forgive *Alexander* that heinous Crime of putting *Callisthenes* the Philosopher to Death ; and it is plain, he look'd upon this, as his greatest Crime, and which all the Actions of his whole Life, however praise-worthy, were not able to palliate : “ This, says  
 “ he, is an eternal Blot upon *Alexander's* Name, which no  
 “ Valour, nor any Success in War will ever wipe off.” For should any one say, *He slew many Thousand Persians*, he would add *Callisthenes* to the Number : Should any say, *He slew Darius, a great Monarch, in Possession of a large Empire*, he would immediately say, *and Callisthenes* : Should any say, *He conquered all the Sea-coasts, and even search'd it with new Fleets, and extended his Empire from an Angle of Thrace, to the utmost Eastern Limits of the Earth*, he would add, “ That notwithstanding he had sur-  
 “ pass'd the Examples of former Kings, and Generals, all  
 the

“ the great Acts he performed, will not atone for that single  
“ Crime of putting *Callisthenes* to Death.”

II. To the Examples already given, we shall add one more ; for as often as any shall say, \* “ He was endued with  
“ incredible Courage, and Resolution, Constancy in enduring Labours and Travel, and Patience almost above  
“ what became him ; besides, with Valour not only above  
“ what is common in Kings, but even beyond that of those  
“ who made the Military Art their chief Employ ;” we shall object, that his Avarice of other Mens Possessions and Properties, was also incredible, and insatiable : Nothing was so sacred among Men, which he trod not under Foot ; no Danger was so great, which he would not attempt, nor any Labour so excessive, which he would not undergo ; so that Thieves, Robbers, and Pirates, who, by the Desperateness of their Circumstances, are necessitated to take up these vile Practices for their Sustenance, are not to be compared with him. As often as we hear him harangued for “ his Liberty, in bestowing more than we even ask of the Gods ;  
“ his Clemency towards the Conquered ; so many Kingdoms, which he had won by the Sword, either returned  
“ to the former Princes, or given away, as Gifts ; and above  
“ all, for that constant Contempt of Death, which strikes  
“ such a Terror into others ;” we shall, without Hesitation, reply, that he was profuse of what he had acquired by Rapine, and often bestowed his Favours upon the Unworthy ; that Towns were spoiled, and Kingdoms ransack’d, that he might lavish away the Wealth of others, among a parcel of Sycophants, and Blood-suckers, who were about him ; that he was merciful only to such as shew’d themselves ready to receive his Yoke, notwithstanding they were entitled, by their Birth, to the same Freedom as the *Macedonians* ; that his Contempt of Death, was an Effect of Frenzy, which, to say nothing worse, run thro’ all the Acts of his Life ; and lastly, if he had any Appearance of Virtue, it was by no means to be compar’d with that eternal Lust of Spoil, which hurried him on to invade the Rights of all Men, unless they were instantly deliver’d up to him : When Death seiz’d upon this common Enemy of Mankind, he was preparing, after he had subdued the East, to drown the West too, in one Inundation of the Blood of its Inhabitants, unless they yielded a speedy Subjection to him, tho’ most of them had never heard of his Name, nor knew in what Quarter of the World *Macedonia* stood.

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\* *Curtius, lib. x. cap. 5. 25.*

12. But we have no occasion of using Arguments of our own, to shew that *Alexander's* Exploits rather blasted his Memory among wise Men, than raised it; and, on that Account, we shall hear how \* *Lucan* treads in the Steps of his renowned Uncle, and with his Words, conclude this Section. Thus he sings of the Sepulchre of *Alexander*, which was to be seen in *Alexandria* :

*There the vain Youth, who made the World his Prize,  
That prosperous Robber Alexander, lies.  
When pitying Death, at length had freed Mankind,  
To sacred Rest his Bones were here consign'd :  
His Bones, that better had been rost'd and bur'd,  
With just Contempt, around the injur'd World.  
But Fortune spar'd the Dead, and partial Fate,  
For Ages, fix'd his Pharian Empire's Date.  
If e'er our long lost Liberty return,  
That Carcass is reserv'd for publick Scorn :  
Now it remains a Monument confess,  
How one proud Man, could lord it o'er the rest.  
To Macedon, a Corner of the Earth,  
The vast ambitious Spoiler ow'd his Birth :  
There, soon, he scorn'd his Father's humbler Reign,  
And view'd his vanquish'd Athens with Disdain ;  
Driv'n headlong on, by Fate's resistless Force,  
Thro' Asia's Realms he took his dreadful Course :  
His ruthless Sword laid human Nature waste,  
And Desolation follow'd, where he pass'd.  
Red † Ganges blu'd, and sam'd Euphrates' Flood,  
With Persian this, and that with Indian Blood.  
Such is the Bolt which angry Jove employs,  
When, undistinguishing, his Wrath destroys :  
Such, to Mankind, portentous Meteors rise,  
Trouble the gazing Earth, and blast the Skies ;  
Nor Flame, nor Flood, his restless Rage withstand,  
Nor Syrts unfaithful, nor the Lybian Sand :  
O'er Waves unknown, he meditates his Way,  
And seeks the boundless Empire of the Sea ;  
Even to the utmost West he would have gone,  
Where Tethys' Lap receives the setting Sun ;*

\* *Lucan*, lib. x. ver. xp. &c.

† 'Tis pity but *Lucan* had named the *Hydaspes* here, instead of the *Ganges*, because there happened a great Battle upon the Banks of the former; but *Alexander* never reach'd the latter.

*Around each Pole, his Circuit would have made,  
And drunk from secret Nile's remotest Head,  
When Nature's Hand his wild Ambition stay'd.*

ROWE.

13. After all this, none, I hope, will be able to say, that we derogate too much from *Curcius*, a Heathen, when we affirm, that he ought to have fix'd a Brand of Infamy upon *Alexander's* Robberies, if he had not rather sought after the Character of a Declaimer, than that of a grave Historian. This we only aim'd at here; for we never design'd to comprize a History of his Life in this Compass. However, *Curcius* himself once slightly touches this Matter, in a Speech of the *Scythians*, wherein they are introduced speaking thus to *Alexander*; \* "Thou, who boastest of thy coming to repress Thieves, takest all the Kingdoms by Stealth, where-ever thou comest." But he ought not to have touch'd the Matter so transiently, and pass'd it over thus, with one oblique Glance, but have dwelt upon it largely, and explain'd himself fully, and freely upon that Subject; he ought also not to have put it thus into the Mouths of *Alexander's* Enemies, but to have spoke it in his own Person; the Reflections of Enemies, upon that score, being insufficient.

14. These are our unfeigned Sentiments concerning *Curcius*, and whoever will take the Pains to form a true and exact Judgment of them, will easily discern, that they were not wrote with any Design of bringing an elegant Author into Contempt, but out of a sincere Love of Virtue and Truth, and a Desire of advancing Learning, and assisting the Youth, who lay out their Endeavours that Way. This we can safely affirm, that we have given none any just Occasion of bringing our Veracity in question, throughout this Work; However, we were call'd upon, some Years after it was first wrote, to defend ourselves, which we did in *French* in the Third Volume of *Bibliothèque Choïse*, to which we refer our Reader. We also wrote something upon this Subject, in a Preface to *Pædo Albinovanus*, and shall therefore make an End here, lest, by too many Arguments, we should seem to intimate, that the Case was still disputable.

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\* *Curcius*, lib. viii. cap. 8.







## CHAP. X.

### *A Defence of Mr. Le Clerc from the Censures of Mr. Perizonius, in his Treatise intituled, Quintus Curtius vindicatus.*

AS I have already translated Nine long Chapters from Mr. *Le Clerc*, I hope my Readers will allow me to add One of my own, which I design as Observations on some Reflections of Mr. *Perizonius* upon him. I shall not presume to croud all the Objections, and Replies, which have been made on both Sides, into this small Compass; let it suffice, that I here present them with a brief Answer to some of the most material ones, and shall refer my Readers to the Originals themselves, for further Satisfaction. Mr. *Perizonius* entitles the Treatise which he has written on this Account, *A Vindication of Quintus Curtius*; but his Design was level'd at Mr. *Le Clerc*; and he has spared neither Time nor Pains to gather together whatever was possible, against him.

First then, He accuses him with writing too sharply, too bitterly, with too little Candour, and with treating *Quintus Curtius*, whom he had owned to be an ancient Author, with too much Severity, in his Censure. To which I answer, if he has advanced little or nothing against him, but what all his latest, and best Commentators, and even Mr. *Perizonius* himself owns to be just, I am of Opinion, that instead of vindicating the Reputation of *Curtius*, by that Treatise, he has shewed, that the Case is either desperate, or he is a weak Reasoner, and unfit to manage it. If any should ask me, To what purpose are those sharp Censures upon an ancient Author? I would reply, That they are set up as Buoys or Beacons, to warn future Historians from running upon the Shelves and Shallows, where their Predecessors have suffer'd Shipwreck. The greatest Glory any Author can receive, is from the Approbation of an impartial Critick, after a strict, and thorough Examination; and none can be either afraid

or ashamed of being brought to the Test, but such as are conscious of their own Defects, and Inabilities.

2. He has bestowed above thirty Pages in telling us, that Mr. *Le Clerc* has accused divers Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and I know not who, of want of Humanity, and several other Crimes, when he is guilty of much more flagrant ones himself.—— All this may be true; but as neither I, nor *Quintus Curtius* are any ways concern'd in the Case, we have no Business to crowd ourselves foolishly into their Quarrel.

3. He freely owns, that *Curtius* understood little of Geography, and, on that account, made frequent Blunders; and yet he endeavours to defend him, p. 117, 118, 119. by alledging, in the first place, that *Curtius*, indeed, transcrib'd this and that from the antient Greek Historians; but the Question is, whether he believed them himself?—— If he delivered that for Truth, which he did not believe himself, his Readers, instead of becoming wiser by his Book, must, of Consequence, grow the greater Blockheads. Secondly, He tells us, that *Curtius* was neither to write a new History, nor to bespatter the antient Historians, who afforded him Materials: That most of the Antients had given Accounts of Things, much the same with what we find in his Work.—— Admitting the Truth of all this, he cannot be justified; for *Curtius's* Accounts of Things are far more romantick, and remote from Truth, than those of most of the antient Historians; and if some of the Greek Writers published Romance for Truth, all did not; and whoever sets up for an Author, ought to be careful, not only who he quotes from, but what he transcribes from them; otherwise, he is answerable for their Errors, as well as his own.

4. He says, *Curtius* is not to be blamed for asserting, first, that *Alexander* march'd, with his Army, over Mount *Parapamisus*, and suffered great Extremities of Cold.—— No, certainly.—— Secondly, that as it was in *November*, it was no great Wonder, if the Tops, and North Sides of the Mountains were covered with Snow.—— Who ever said it was?—— This, with a few Reflections upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, takes up above a dozen Pages; but then the grand Pinch still remains, and I desire him to answer, first, How could *Alexander*, and his Followers, find Inhabitants whose Huts, or Hovels, lay wholly covered with Snow all Winter? And, secondly, What could be the Reason of so vast a Darkness, by Day, in so Southerly a Latitude? See *Curt. vind.* p. 122, to 140.

5. He

5. He then falls foul upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, p. 147. for assigning the 20th Degree of North Latitude, for the Seat of the Oracle of *Hammon*, instead of the 28th. — What can be the Cause of this, I cannot find. I have Mr. *Le Clerc's* *Judicium de Quinto Curtio* now by me, and it is as plain 28, as ever was either printed or read. — He then says, *Arrian* agrees with *Curtius*, in the Description of the Fruitfulness of the Soil, and Temperature of the Climate there. — But the contrary is apparent, from his own Words, *lib. iii. p. 167. Blancard*. “The Temple of *Hammon*, says he, is every way surrounded with huge Wastes, and thirsty Sands; nevertheless, in the midst of these, is a small Spot, (of about forty Furlongs, where broadest) which is stock’d with fair Trees, (*viz.*) Olives, and Palm-Trees, and the Soil is watered by a Fountain not far off.” — Now, whoever can find the wonderful Mildness of the Skies, the smiling of the Seasons, and the perpetual Spring here, must either have sharper Eyes, or a more pregnant Fancy, than I can pretend to.

6. Mr. *Perizonius* owns, p. 148. that *Glareantius*, *Raderus*, *Freinshemius*, *Tellier*, and *Cellarius*, have all been upon *Curtius's* Back, on account of his false Description of the Countries round the Temple of *Hammon*; and therefore he wonders why Mr. *Le Clerc* should give himself the Trouble, either to find new Faults, or animadvert afresh upon the old ones. He then pleads, that the Antients knew very little of the inner, or midland Countries of *Africa*, and endeavours to excuse *Curtius*, where he is unable to defend him.

7. He says, *Curtius* is no more to be condemned for giving a strange Disparity between the Numbers slain and wounded, on one Side and the other, than most other Authors. — Where their Numbers are as extravagant as his, they are, undoubtedly, as much to blame as he. — He then gives us several Reasons, why the Vanquished should fall in far greater Numbers than the Victors: — But such a monstrous Disparity as One hundred thousand, to fall on one Side, to One hundred and eighty-two on the other, is incredible. — He brings us an Instance to prove, what Multitudes have fallen in one Battle, out of the *Chronicles*, chap. xiv. ver. 17. where *Abia* is said to have slain Five hundred thousand *Israelites*, tho’ he had not so many Soldiers in his whole Army. — I shall not pretend to criticize upon that Passage, because I understand not the Original:

However, as the whole Extent of the Territories both of *Israel* and *Judah* was not much bigger than *Wales*, and as it is there said, that the King of *Judah* brought Five hundred thousand Men into the Field, and the King of *Israel* Eight hundred thousand, I must beg leave to suspend my Relief concerning those Numbers, till I can be assured, from some able Critick in the Language, that they are the same in all Copies. See the Remark on *Curtius*, *Snaken. lib. iii. cap. 11. 27.*

8. Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Criticism, *chap. 3. 11.* says, that *Curtius* ought frequently to have told us, he did not believe all he wrote. But, says Mr. *Perizonius*, *p. 118, 119.* it would have been the most stupid, and senseless thing imaginable, for him to have told us this, over and over again.—— This Remark would be very just, had he ranged all his Truths at one End of his Book, and his Lyes at the other, and told us, once for all, that we might believe the first Parcel, but not the last. As they lie now promiscuously huddled together, I defy any Reader upon Earth, without making use of his own Judgment, to distinguish which is Romance, and which true History.

9. As to the Description of Hook'd Chariots, taken notice of by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his Criticism, *chap. 4.* Mr. *Perizonius* has very judiciously set his Master *Curtius* right, after there had been a vast Dispute about it, and shew'd us plainly, that he may be defended in this Article. He has also drawn us the Figure of a Chariot-Wheel, according to *Curtius's* Description, which shews, at least, that if the Antients had no such Chariots in reality, they might have had them, there being now no Obscurity in the Description.

10. He has laboured hard to bring *Curtius* off from Mr. *Le Clerc's* Censure in his Criticism, *chap. 4. 5.* but I am of Opinion, he has miss'd his Mark: "What, says he, cannot a Plain be vast, unless it be unbounded?"—— Yes, certainly.—— But then, if that Plain be as wide as an Eye can reach, it is sufficient to contain any two Armies, that ever march'd into a Field, with Room enough for them to fight on. However, it is evident by *Curtius's* Description, that the moist Hills hindered the *Macedonians* from viewing the Army of the *Persians*; therefore the whole was not level, and his Account thereof is still imperfect, and unsatisfactory.

11. He tells us, *p. 128, 129, 130.* in Answer to Mr. *Le Clerc's* Criticism, *chap. 7. 26.* that tho' the Writings of  
*Heron,*

*Beton*, and *Diogenes* were then extant, yet we have no Reason to suppose, that they gave Accounts of Countries, or the Stations of the Army any ways different from *Curcius*. — If they did not, *Eratosthenes* did, and after him *Strabo*, both which Authors wrote before *Curcius*, and so, for any thing we know to [the contrary, might *Plutarch*, and *Arrian* too.

12. This is said, or thought to be an Error of Transcribers, by most Commentators, and that *Antipater* ought to be substituted, instead of *Alexander*. See Criticism, chap. 8. 9. Of this Opinion is *Tan. Faber*, *Tellier*, *Cellarius*, and *Pitiscus*. However, Mr. *Perizonius*, p. 78, 79, 80. undertakes, from sundry Instances from the Classics, to prove, that the Antients used the Words *Imperium* and *Dux* indifferently. — Be that as it will, *Curcius*'s Error still remains; for *Alexander* was then in the utmost Parts of the East.

13. We now come to the Subject of his set Speeches, which Mr. *Le Clerc* has animadverted upon, chap. 8. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Mr. *Perizonius* endeavours to excuse *Curcius*, or at least to palliate the Matter as much as possible, by telling us, p. 92, 93, 94, 95. that Mr. *Le Clerc* has not sufficiently distinguished between History, and Commentaries, or the bare Journals or Materials from which a regular History is afterwards formed. He owns, that in Commentaries every thing ought to be just, and every Speech to be genuine, or, at least, as near as possible; but then, for a History to appear so, would be meer Patch-work. He adds, that sometimes Speeches are too long to be inserted; and that a Historian may take the Liberty to alter what he pleases, he thinks justifiable by the Example of Divines, who, when they are requested to print a Sermon, seldom print it exactly as it was delivered out of the Pulpit. To which I answer; First, If an Historian must, and will interlard his Work with Speeches, let them be given us exactly as they were spoke; tho' I am of Opinion, he had much better omit them, and introduce what Historical Facts they may contain, in a Narrative Way. Secondly, If any Speech be too long to be inserted into a History, the Historian has the Liberty of abridging, but not of new modelling, and altering it. And, Thirdly, Tho' a Divine may really take the Liberty to alter any Part of a Sermon of his own composing, to make it appear the more advantageously to the Publick, he would take it very much amiss, if another Person was to presume to do it for him, and much worse still,

if a Stranger should dare to publish a Sermon in his Name, which he never either preach'd or thought of.

14. We have a long Story in Mr. *Porizonius*, to being *Curcius* off clear from Mr. *Le Clerc's* Accusation, in his Criticism, chap. 8. 18. He tells us, p. 99. That a *Persian* Nobleman, who had been raised to the highest Honour, and who had had the most exact Knowledge of Affairs, might make a Speech like that; for who should hinder him? — Who indeed! — He then proceeds; Have not Thousands made foolish Speeches, or ill-timed ones; and might not an unreasonable Sourness, or Ostentation, of an imprudent Vanity, cause him to utter such Things? — Ay, that they might, or any thing else. *Alexander* could not immediately tie his Tongue; and so long as he had it at Liberty, he might say as proud, or as foolish Things as he would. But then Mr. *Le Clerc* might have added one thing more, to have strengthened his Argument, which is, that *Arrian* assures us, towards the Conclusion of his Sixth Book, that he was accused of robbing Temples, defacing Monuments, and causing many innocent *Persians* to be put to Death; for which Crimes, *Alexander* caused him to be crucified.

15. Mr. *Porizonius* plainly tells us, p. 106. in Answer to what Mr. *Le Clerc* had advanced in his Criticism, chap. 8. 19. that *Curcius* was not so great a Fool as not to know, that Mount *Libanus*, and the City *Thapsacus*, were both in *Syria*; and on that account, he owns, it might have been proper to have sent those Orders to the Governor of *Syria*. But who knows, says he, what Reasons *Alexander* had, to do what he did? — Or who knows, say I, what Reasons *Curcius* had, to write what he wrote? — Perhaps, says he, the Governor of *Syria* was then absent, executing his Commands elsewhere, or perhaps he was one of those, who had been guilty of Male-Administration, and, when he heard of *Alexander's* Return, fled away, for fear of being called to Account; for surely, says he, if *Curcius* had not found the Circumstance thus, in the ancient Greek Authors, from whom he copied, he would never have added it out of his own Head. — Perhaps both of his perhaps may be to no purpose. The first Governor of *Syria*, whom *Alexander* appointed, was *Arimmas*, and him he dispossest, for aiming at Sovereignty, as *Arrian* assures us, lib. iii. p. 168. *Blancard*, and deputed *Asclepiodorus*, the Son of *Eunicus*, to govern in his stead. This *Asclepiodorus*

is again mentioned as bringing Recruits to *Alexander* at *Zariaspā* in *Bactria*, *lib. iv. p. 254.* and again, *lib. iv. p. 269.* where he is call'd the Governor of *Syria*. Now, what became of him afterwards, is hard to know; but as we hear nothing more of him, I am of Opinion, he continued in his Government till *Alexander's* Death, and then was set aside, in the general Division of the Empire; for all Authors agree, that *Syria* was then given to *Laomedon* the *Mitylenean*.—He then falls heavy upon Mr. *Le Clerc*, for insinuating, in a Marginal Note, that the Mouths of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* were not fit to receive Vessels so large as *Septiremes*, and brings an Example from *Livy*, *lib. xlv. 35.* of a Ship with Sixteen Banks of Oars, drawn up the *Tiber* as high as *Rome*. This may, perhaps, as he says, be one of the Effects of hasty Writing. However, there are so many excellent Remarks contain'd in that Criticism, that we may very well excuse this, and an hundred other small Errors, if there were so many, for their sakes.

Mr. *Perizonius* made some Objections against this Criticism, in his *Animadversions* upon *Ælian*, *pag. 728.* These were answered by Mr. *Le Clerc*, under the feign'd Name of *Theodorus Gorallus*, in his Preface to *Pedo Albinevanus*. Mr. *Perizonius* wrote a Reply, intitled, *A Vindication of Quintus Curtius, &c.* This was fully answered by Mr. *Le Clerc*, in *Bibliothèque Choisie*, *Tom. iii. p. 171, &c.* since which Time we have heard nothing of it.





T H E  
G E N E A L O G Y  
O F  
A L E X A N D E R.



*R R I A N* assures us, *lib. i. cap. 11.* (and indeed all Authors agree with him) that *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules* by the Father's Side, and from *Achilles* by the Mother; and as the clearing up that Point, (so far as it is possible, at this Distance of Time) may be of some Use to our Readers, we shall present them with a brief Account of the Royal Stemm, from *Reineccius*, who seems to have given it with the utmost Accuracy and Diligence. He has, indeed, begun with *Alexander* himself, and traced it backward; but I chuse rather to begin with *Hercules*, and *Achilles*, and present them in the same Order as they appeared in the World. In the first place, therefore,

HERCULES



**HERCULES** had a Son named *Temenus*, (as is evident from the Fragment of a Satire in *Scaliger's* Additions to *Eusebius*, p. 372.) from whom came the Race of the *Temenidae*, who held the Kingdom of *Argos* for a long Time; of which Family was

**CARANUS**, an *Argive* by Birth, the Founder of the *Macedonian* Kingdom: Who were his Parents, is not known, any further than that he deduced his Pedigree from *Temenus* the Son of *Hercules*.

**CENUS**, the Son of *Caranus*, and Father of *Tyrinus*, reign'd in *Macedonia* Twelve Years.

**TYRINUS** reign'd Thirty-eight Years, and left the Kingdom to his Son *Perdiccas*.

**PERDICCAS**, the first King of *Macedon*, at his Death shew'd his Son the Place where he, and his Successors, should be interr'd; and foretold, that the Kingdom should remain in that Family, as long as that was done: On which Account, some vainly

**ACHILLES**, the Son of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, by *Deidamia*, Daughter to *Lycomedes* King of *Styrus*, begat a Son, whom he named *Pyrrhus*.

**PYRRHUS**, the Son of *Achilles* by *Lanassa*, Daughter to *Cleodæus*, of the Race of the *Heraclide*, begat *Pyrrhus*; who is supposed to have died young, and *Alenas*; from whom proceeded the Family of the *Alenidae*, as also *Echneſtus*, whence came the Family of the *Echneſta*; beside five Daughters. By *Andromache*, *Hector's* Widow, he begat *Molossus*, from whom the People of *Epirus* were named *Molossi*; as also *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*, surnam'd *Pergamus*.

**PIELUS**, was also called *Pylades*: How many Sons he begat, is not known; but that he left some, is certain, because *Pausanias* assures us, that the *Pyrrhus* who waged War with the *Romans* deriv'd his Pedigree from him.

**ALCON**, married *Agarista* Daughter to *Clisthenes* the *Sicyonian*. His Progenitors are unknown, excepting

vainly imagine that the Family became extinct in *Alexander*, because he was interr'd elsewhere. See more of this in *Herodotus*, l. 8. c. 137. where he gives us that Story somewhat different.

**ARGEUS**, King of *Macedonia*, routed the *Illyrians*, who then made War upon the *Macedonians*, having deceived them with a *Bacchanal* Entertainment.

**PHILIP**, the first King of that Name, King of *Macedonia*.

**AEROPUS**, King of *Macedonia*, an Infant, was carried into the Army in his Cradle, by the *Macedonians*, who were then hard put to it by the *Illyrians*; and the Event answered their Hopes.

**ALCETAS**, King of *Macedonia*, reign'd Twenty-nine Years, and left for his Successor

**AMYNAS** the First, King of *Macedonia*, who being overthrown by *Megabazus* the *Persian*, General to *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, left *Alexander*

excepting only that it is evident, he was one of the Race of *Pierus*.

**ABNETUS**, King of *Epirus*, (to whom *Pdenissus* fled) of *Phthia* his Wife, begat a Son named *Arybbas*.

**ATHENAS**, was educated at *Athens*: After he came to the Kingdom, he framed Laws, established a Senate, appointed annual Magistrates, and regulated the Affairs of the Commonwealth. He is also call'd *Tharymbas*, *Thargias*, and *Tharypus*, according to the usual Variations of proper Names.

**ALCETAS**, King of *Epirus*, being expell'd by his Subjects, fled to *Dionysius* King of *Sicily*, and returning to his own Kingdom, begat *Neoptolemus* the Father of *Olympias*, and *Arybbas*, who waged War against his Brother, and forced him to allow him a Share in the Kingdom; and then marrying *Troas*, his Brother's Daughter, he begat *Alcetas*, who reign'd after him, as also *Æacides* the Father of *Pyrrhus*.

NEOP-

under his Son, surnamed *the Rich*, and *Bocrus*, whose Son *Mileagor* begot *Arfinoe*, Mother to King *Ptolemy*, and *Gygæa*, who, by one *Bubares*, a *Persian*, brought forth *Amyntas*, on whom *Xerxes* bestowed *Alabanda*, a City of *Phrygia*.

ALEXANDER, King of *Macedonia*, surnamed *the Rich*, and *Philhellon*, who waged War against *Xerxes*, and the *Persians*, begat a Son call'd *Perdiccas*, and *Alcetas*, who was afterwards slain by *Archelaus*, the base Son of *Perdiccas*, besides a third, whom he named *Philip*.

PHILIP, surnamed *Tetraleus*, being expell'd out of his Kingdom of *Macedonia* by his Brother *Perdiccas*, died in Exile, leaving one only Son behind him.

AMYNTAS the Second, King of *Macedonia*, who was twice expell'd out of his Dominions, and as often restored, of *Eurydice*, an *Illyrian* Woman, begat *Alexander*, the Third of that Name, King of *Macedonia*; *Perdiccas* the Third, whose Son *Amyntas*, by *Cynæ* the Daughter of *Philip*,

NEOPTOLEMUS, King of *Epirus*, who shared his Territories with his Brother *Arybbas*, begat that *Alexander* who married *Cleopatra*, the Sister of *Alexander the Great*, and who carrying his Arms into *Italy*, there died; as also *Neoptolemus*, who accompanying *Alexander* into *Asia*, was the first who mounted the Breach at the storming the City *Gaza*, *Arrian*, lib. ii. cap. 27. He, after this, held the Kingdom of *Epirus* some Time, but was, at last, slain by *Pyrrhus*. *Arybbas*, who basely violated the League he had enter'd into with *Leosthenes* against the *Macedonians*: *Troas*, who was married to her Uncle *Arybbas*: *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander the Great*: and *Cadmia*, who discovered the treacherous Designs of her Brother *Neoptolemus* against *Pyrrhus*.

OLYMPIAS, after the Death of her Son *Alexander*, being hated for her excessive Ambition, and having committed many Acts of Cruelty, was, at last, taken at *Pydna* by *Cassander*, and put to Death.

## xciv *The Genealogy of ALEXANDER.*

*Philip*, begat *Eurydice*, Wife to *Arideus*; *Philip* the Second, Father to *Alexander the Great*; besides a Daughter named *Euryone*, who disclosed her Mother's wicked Devices to her Father. Of *Gyges*, or, as others have it, *Cygnæ*, he begat *Archelaus*, *Argeus*, and *Mene-laus*; and by a Harlot, whose Name is unknown, he had *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Alorites*, who begat *Philæmus*, whose Progeny is not recorded.

**PHILIP**, King of *Macedonia*, being slain by *Pausanias*, in the Forty-sixth Year of his Age, by his Wife *Olympias* begat *Alexander the Great*, and *Cleopatra*, who was given in Marriage to her Uncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*. By *Audaca*, an *Illyrian* Woman, he had *Cyna*, who was by her Father bestowed upon *Amyn-tas*, his Cousin-German, and afterwards put to Death by *Alcetas*, Brother to *Perdiccas*. By *Nicaæpolis* the *Phœrean*, he had *Niceæ*, whom *Cassander* married. By *Cleopatra*, the Sister of *Attalus*, he had *Europa*, whom *Olympias* is said to have slain in her Mother's Arms; as also *Caranus*, who was put to Death by the same Hand. By *Arfinoe*, whom he married to *Lagus* when she was with Child, he begat *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*. By *Philina*, a Dancer of *Larissa*, he had *Arideus*, who held a Shadow of Empire for Six Years after his Brother *Alexander's* Death; but being at last betrayed into the Hands of *Olympias*, and cruelly put to Death, the *Macedonian* Line of the Race of the *Heraclide*, in him, became extinct.

**ALEXANDER THE GREAT**, married first *Roxane*, the Daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*: She bore him a posthumous Son, called *Alexander*, who was slain by *Cassander*. *Rheineccius* tells us, that he afterwards married *Barsine*, the Daughter of *Artabazus*; but that is a Mistake, which *Freinshemius*, and several other great Men, have fallen into, by the Similitude of Names, and the corrupt Copies of *Arrian*. 'Tis true, she is most commonly named *Barsine*, (but then she is always called the Eldest Daughter to *Darius*;) However, some Copies of *Arrian* call her *Arfine*; and *Photius* gives us her right Name, which was *Arfinoe*. *Vide Arrian. apud Photium,*

*Photium*, lib. ix. She is called *Statira* by *Diodorus Curtius*, and *Justin* ; but the Name is thought to be corrupt. *Vide Notas ad Curt. lib. iv. cap. 5. 1.* By her he had also a posthumous Son, named *Hercules*, whom *Polysperchon* slew, in the Sixteenth Year of his Age. He also married *Parysatis*, the youngest Daughter of *Oebus* ; but whether he had any Children by her, is not known. By *Cleopbis*, a Queen of *India*, he is said to have had a Son called *Alexander*, who succeeded to his Mother's Dominions.





## E R R A T A

Page 11. Line 5. *del* so.

29. Line 15. for *Priamus*, read *Priapus*.

49. Line 27. for offered, read afforded.

80. Line 17. *del* Persian.

104. Line 7. for *Thaliscus*, read *Thessaliscus*.

158. Line 18. for *Pharcellan*, read *Pharsalian*.

180. In the Notes, E. 13. for *Contraction*, r. *Contradiction*.











# ARRIAN's PREFACE.



*HAVE chose to make use of the Writings of Ptolemy the Son of Lagus, and of Aristobulus the Son of Aristobulus, concerning Alexander the Son of Philip, as the most authentick Accounts of those Actions, so far as they are consistent with themselves, or with each other; and in those Points where they differ, which-soever appeared to me the most consonant to Truth, and fittest to be recorded, I have followed. Others indeed have set Alexander's Acts in a different Light; and there is no*

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius*, who has wrote the best, as well as the largest Supplement to *Curtius*, serves us here as the Pyrates do Merchant Ships, by putting out false Colours till they have decoy'd them within the Reach of their Guns, and then hoisting the black Flag with the Death's Head. He purloins almost all *Arrian's* Preface, and very gravely tells his Readers, that the greatest Part of what they may expect is from *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, &c. *Vid. Supplem. ad Curt. lib. 1. ch. 1. Ed. Snakenburg.* 'Tis true, he has been very free with *Arrian*, as far as his Supplement goes, but the Moment *Curtius's* own Work begins, there is not a Word from *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* more.

## 2     A R R I A N ' S   P R E F A C E :

*Hero, on whose Life so many Pens have been employed, or where they disagree so much among themselves. But Aristobulus and Ptolemy are preferable to all the rest, and most worthy of Credit : For as the first was one of Alexander's Companions in that Expedition, and the latter not only bore a Command there, but was also a <sup>a</sup> King himself afterwards, a Deviation from Truth would be more unpardonable in them than others. And sure their Veracity is the less to be doubted, because they compiled their Histories after Alexander's Death, when neither Fear nor Favour could induce them to relate Facts otherwise than they really happened. Some Things touch'd upon by others, I have thought not altogether unworthy the Rehearsal, as falling within the Compass of Probability ; but those are only delivered as Reports. And if any now wonder why, after so many Writers of Alexander's Acts, I also attempt the Task, and endeavour to elucidate the same, after he has perused the rest, let him proceed to the reading of mine, and he will find less Cause of Wonder than before.*

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<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy's Mother was named *Arfinoe*; she being with Child by Philip King of Macedon, he married her to *Lagus*; whence he is usually stiled Ptolemy the Son of *Lagus*. He bore a Command in Alexander's Army, was one of his Body Guards, and after his Death obtained the Kingdom of *Ægypt*. See *Pausanias in Atticis. Suidas. & Freinsheim. in Curt. lib. ix. ch. 8, 22.*





*A R R I A N*'s  
**HISTORY**  
O F  
**ALEXANDER'S Expedition.**

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**B O O K I.**

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**C H A P. I.**



**P**HILIP<sup>1</sup> died when *Pythodemus* was Archon at *Athens*, and his Son *Alexander*, then about twenty Years of Age, ascended his Throne, and march'd into *Peloponnesus*, where, in a grand Council of all the *Greeks* of those Parts, he requested to be made General of the intended Expedition against the *Persians*, (an Honour which had been before

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<sup>1</sup> *Pausanias*, a young Nobleman of *Macedonia*, having been forcibly abused by *Attalus*, made his Complaints to King *Philip*; but *Attalus's* Interest prevailing, and he finding no Redress, turn'd his Rage upon the King; whereupon, as he was to see some Shows between the two *Alexanders*, his Son, and Nephew, without his ordinary Guards, he was suddenly assaulted and slain. See *Diodor. lib. xvi. pag. 482. Editionis Hamoviae, & Justin. lib. ix. cap. 6, & 7.*

conferr'd on his Father *Philip*.) This was granted by all, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who alledged that by an antient Custom of theirs, deduced from their Ancestors, the *Lacedæmonians* ought not to obey the Orders of a foreign General, but themselves to have the Command of any Army raised for a foreign Expedition. The *Athenians* were also busy in contriving to bring some Innovation about, but were so terrified at *Alexander's* Approach, that they decreed him more Honours than they had before promised his Father. He then returned into *Macedonia*, to raise Forces for his Expedition into *Asia*: However, the Spring following, he determined to march thro' *Thrace*, and so to penetrate into the Countries of the <sup>2</sup> *Triballi* and <sup>3</sup> *Illyrians*, who, he heard, were also plotting Mischief; and as they almost border'd upon his Kingdom, he deem'd it inconsistent with true Policy to neglect humbling them, before he attempted to march with his Army against Places so remote; wherefore setting out from <sup>4</sup> *Amphipolis*, he march'd first against those <sup>5</sup> *Thracians*, who were govern'd by their own Laws, and tenacious of their own Customs, and leaving the City *Philippi*, and the Mountain *Orbelus* on the left, and having pass'd the River *Nessus*, after ten Days Journey, he arrived at Mount *Hæmus*. Here, a mighty Number of the neighbouring Inhabitants appear'd in Armour, as also Multitudes of the free *Thracians* abovementioned,

<sup>2</sup> The *Triballi* were a stout Nation inhabiting the lower Part of *Mæsia*, between Mount *Hæmus* and the River *Ister*: their Country is now called *Bulgaria*.

<sup>3</sup> The Country of *Illyria* bordered on the *Adriatick* Sea on one Side, and on *Pannonia* on the other: It is now called *Sclavonia*.

<sup>4</sup> *Amphipolis* was a City seated on both Sides of the River *Strymon*, partly in the Borders of *Thrace*, and partly in those of *Macedonia*.

<sup>5</sup> The *Thracians* were a valiant People: Their Country, which was bounded by the *Euxine* and *Ægean* Seas, and Mount *Hæmus*, is now called *Romania*.

tioned, being fully determined, by seizing the Tops of the Mountains, and securing the Streights, or Pass, to hinder him and his Army from any further Progress. Their Carriages, or Waggon, they therefore placed before them, not only to serve instead of a Breastwork for their Security, if they should be attack'd, but they resolv'd, if the *Macedonians* attempted to ascend, to tumble them down among them, from the most steep and rugged Parts of the Mountain; for they had well consider'd, that the more firm the Phalanx was, into which these Carriages should be thus hurried, the more Execution would be performed by the Violence and Rapidity of their Fall. But *Alexander* consulted how he might, with the least Danger, gain that Pass, and being assured that the Mountain must be ascended, and that there was no other Way for an Army to march, warn'd his Soldiers, the Moment they perceived the Enemy's Machinery put in Motion, that those whom the Convenience of their Station would allow, should open their Ranks, and suffer them to roll freely through, but those who were confined by the Narrowness of the Pass, should close their Shields artfully together, and fall flat on the Ground, so that when the Carriages pass'd over them with their utmost Velocity, they might receive as little Damage as possible; and the Event answer'd *Alexander's* Expectations; for some of them opening their Ranks, and others closing their Shields, and thereby covering their Bodies, they sustain'd the Shock without the Loss of one Man. The *Macedonians* thus freed from the Enemy's Contrivance, reassumed their Courage, and raising a loud Shout, advanced against the *Tbracians*. *Alexander* order'd his Archers to move from the Right Wing, and place themselves before another Phalanx, (because there the Ascent was easier) and gall the Enemy from thence with their Arrows. He himself, besides his own Cohort, led

on the ' Targeteers and ' *Agrians* on the Left. The Archers beat the *Thracians* back with their Arrows, where-ever they approach'd within their Reach; and the Phalanx advancing, without any great Difficulty forced the ' *Barbarians*, who were ill armed and defenceless, to quit their Posts, and thereby render'd them unable to stand the Shock of *Alexander* rushing upon them from the Left. Wherefore casting away what Armour they had, on the Mountain, they fled. About fifteen hundred of them fell on the Spot; few were taken Prisoners, the Swiftness of their Flight, and their exact Knowledge of the Country, securing them; but the Women and Children who followed the Camp were all taken, as also much Spoil.



## C H A P. II.

**T**HE Spoil which the King had seiz'd he sent into the Maritime Places behind him, giving the Charge thereof to *Lyfanius* and *Philotas*. He himself having gain'd the Ascent, pass'd by Way of *Hæmus* in his March against the *Triballi*, and came to the River *Lyginus*, (which is distant from the *Ister*, if you take *Hæmus* in the Way, about three Days Journey.) *Syrmus* King of the *Triballi* being inform'd of *Alexander's* Approach, had dispatch'd the Women and Children, and all his defenceless

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<sup>7</sup> *Ταγματοὶ, Scutati*, which I have all along translated Targeteers, were certain Companies of light-arm'd Foot, very useful in expeditious Marches.

<sup>8</sup> *Αγριῶτες, Agrians*, were Darters on Foot.

<sup>9</sup> The *Greeks* were so proud, and valued themselves so much upon their own Knowledge, that they term'd all other Nations *Barbarians*.

Multitude to the *Ister*, with a strict Charge that they should pass over a Branch of that River, and secure themselves in a small Island named *Peuce*, (whither also the *Thracians*, their Neighbours, on the same Intelligence, had before retired) and *Syrmus* himself, with his Guards, soon after followed. However, a great Multitude of the *Triballi* retreated to the River (*Lyginus*) from whence *Alexander* decamp'd the Day before. When he heard this, he return'd, and marching against these, surprized some of them in their Tents, and then proceeded against the rest, who lay encamp'd in a Wood adjacent to the River. *Alexander* first prepared his own Cohort for the Onset, and then dispatch'd the Archers and Slingers, with Orders to provoke the Barbarians with Stones and Arrows, and by that means, if possible, draw them out of the Wood into the open Country. The Enemy, who were within Reach of their Darts and Stones, and were gall'd with their Arrows, rush'd forward upon the Slingers and Archers, who were unarm'd, and endeavour'd to fight them Hand to Hand. But *Alexander* having by that Stratagem drawn them out of the Wood, order'd *Philotas*, with a choice Party of *Macedonian* Light Horse, to charge them on the Right Wing, and *Heraclides* and *Sopolis*, with the *Bottaiian* and *Amphipolitan* Troops, on the Left. He himself, with a Phalanx of Foot, and another of Horse, rushing in among the midst of them. And indeed, so long as they only skirmish'd with the Bowmen and Slingers, the Fight seem'd

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinsheimus* tells us of another Defeat of an Army of *Triballi*, sometime before; but as none besides himself gives any Hint of such an Overthrow, we may well suppose him to have been led into that Error by following some corrupt Copy of *Arrian*, from whence he borrow'd the whole Story. See his Supplement, *Book I. Chap. II.* He has given us a Brace of Prodigies a little before, with their Significations, whereof *Arrian* has made no Mention, undoubtedly because he was not so credulous, and therefore thought them not worth his Notice.

doubtful; but as soon as the firm Phalanx attack'd them, and the Horsemen begun not only to strike them with their Spears, but trample them under Foot, they betook themselves to their Heels, and passing thro' the Wood, escaped to the River. Three thousand of them were slain in this Fight; few were taken alive, the thick Wood contiguous to the River, and the Approach of Night hindering the Chase. About eleven of the *Macedonian* Horse, and forty of their Foot, according to *Ptolemy's* Account, fell in that Action.



### C H A P. III.

**O**N the third Day after that Battle, *Alexander* came to the River *Ister*, the most considerable of all the *European* Streams, both in regard to the Length of its Course, and the many warlike Nations thro' whose Territories it passes, among which the most renowned are the *Celtes*, where it has its Rise. The remotest of these Nations are the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, next the *Jazyges*, a Branch of the *Sauromatae*, and lastly, the *Scythians*, whose Country terminates the River; where, thro' five vast Mouths, it falls into the *Euxine* Sea. Here *Alexander* found some long Ships, which had been brought from *Byzantium* thro' the *Euxine* Sea, and thence drawn up the River against the Stream: On board which, having embark'd as many Soldiers as they were capable of containing, he steer'd directly for the Island, to which the *Triballi* and *Thracians* had fled for Shelter. But endeavouring to land his Forces, the Barbarians rush'd forwards to oppose him; and forasmuch as his Ships were few, and his Force on board small, the Shores of the Island in most Places steep and rugged, and the River, by being confined in  
narrow



narrow Banks, fierce and rapid; he drew off his Fleet, and alter'd his Resolutions, designing to attack the *Getae*, who inhabited the other Side of the River; for he observed great Numbers of them to come flocking down to the Shore, and stand ready to obstruct his landing, if he attempted it, (for they were, in all, about four thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot,) besides, he had a strong Desire to pass the *Ister* there. He therefore embark'd on board his Ships as great a Force as he could, and at the same time order'd the Hides which had been made use of as Covers for their Tents, to be fill'd with light buoyant Matter, and all the Boats employ'd on that Part of the River to be seiz'd, and brought together. The neighbouring Inhabitants made use of a vast Number of these, partly for their Fishery, and partly for Commerce, besides many for Piracy. This done, the rest of the Army was ferry'd over with all the Speed and Secrecy imaginable. The Number of those who then pass'd the River was about one thousand five hundred Horse, and nigh four thousand Foot.



#### C H A P. IV.

THEY pass'd over, by Night, to a Place where the Corn stood thick on the opposite Shore, that they might be the less perceived by the Enemy. The next Morning *Alexander* march'd his Army thro'

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\* The *Getae* were a considerable People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, inhabiting both Sides of the River *Ister*, near the *Euxine* Sea, whence some confound them with the *Dacians*. Their Country comprehends what is at this Day called *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and *Transylvania*. *Freinshemius*, with a very little Alteration, has translated this whole Chapter and the next, and inserted them in his Supplement to *Cæsius*. See Suppl. Chap. 12.

the Corn, having order'd his Soldiers to transverse their Pikes and bow their Bodies, and thus to proceed till they came to an open and uncultivated Place : So long as the Phalanx was shelter'd from Sight by the Corn, the Horse followed ; but when they came into a champaign Country, *Alexander* himself led them on to the Right Wing, and commanded *Nicanor* to range the Phalanx of Foot on the Left. The *Getae* were so much astonished at their unusual Boldness, who in one Night durst attempt to pass over the mighty River *Ister* without a Bridge, that they stood not the first Shock, the Firmness of the Foot, and the violent Assaults of the Horse putting them into Confusion ; whereupon they fled first to the City, which was about four Miles distant ; but when they perceived *Alexander* draw his Foot along the Banks of the River with great Caution, to prevent falling into Ambuscades, and range his Horse on the Front, they abandoned the City as untenable, and carrying away as many of their Women and Children as they could, betook themselves to the Defarts, at a great Distance from the River.

*Alexander*, in the mean while, enters the City, and gathering up whatever was left by the Inhabitants, delivered the Spoil to *Meleager* and *Philip*, and afterwards levell'd it with the Ground. This done, he offered Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Preserver, and to *Hercules*, as also to *Ister*, for affording him a Passage so safe and easy ; and the same Day he brought all his Troops into the Camp. Thither, came Ambassadors as well from sundry free Nations bordering upon the River, as from *Syrmus* King of the *Triballi*, and from the *Celtes*, who inhabit the Country near the *Ionian* Bay ; they are a People strong in Body, and of a haughty Spirit. All these came with Offers of Friendship ; and a League was accordingly made and accepted on either Side. *Alexander* then took an Opportunity of asking the *Celtes*, what they dreaded most of all Things in the World ; imagining, that as  
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the Terror of his Name must needs have reach'd their Country, and much further, they would have given that, for their Answer; but he was widely deceived in his Expectations, for as they lived in a remote Part of the World, difficult of Access, and so far from the Course of *Alexander's* Expedition, they told him, they were afraid of nothing more than that the Sky should fall upon their Heads. He hearing this, treated them as Friends, rank'd them among the Number of his Allies, and dismiss'd the Ambassadors, saying, that the *Celtes* were an arrogant Nation.



C H A P. V.

**T**HENCE, passing thro' the Countries of the <sup>1</sup> *Agrians*, and <sup>2</sup> *Pæonians*, he received Intelligence that *Clytus* the Son of *Bardyles* had revolted from him, and join'd in Confederacy with *Glaucias* King of the <sup>3</sup> *Taulantii*; as also that the *Autariatæ* were resolved to obstruct his March: For which Reasons he thought fit to hasten his Departure. But *Langarus* King of the *Agrians* (a steady Friend to him, and who had formerly sent an Ambassy to him, during the Life of his Father *Philip*, being then present at the Head of his choicest and best arm'd Pikemen) hearing that *Alexander* was making Inquiry who, or of what Force these *Autariatæ* were, assured him, that they were able to give him no

<sup>1</sup> The *Agrians* inhabited Part of *Thrace*, nigh Mount *Hæmus*; they pass'd by several Names among Authors, (*viz.*) *Agriai*, *Agriani*, *Agrianes*, and *Agrienses*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Pæonians* were a Nation seated Northward from *Macedonia*, near the Fountains of the River *Axius*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Taulantii* inhabited Part of *Illyria*, and the *Autariatæ* another Part thereof.

Disturbance, as being less inured to Martial Discipline than any of their Neighbours; that himself would make an Irruption into their Confines, and find them Employment enough. To this *Alexander* assenting, he march'd suddenly among them, laid their Country waste, and so deterr'd them from attempting any thing. At his Return, he was received with the highest Honours, and not only rewarded with choice Presents, but with the Promise of his Sister *Cyna* for a Wife, at his Return to *Pella*: But the Death of *Langarus*, on a Journey to his own Kingdom, put an End to that Design. *Alexander* after this, marching near the River *Erigone*, advanced towards <sup>4</sup> *Pellion*, which City *Clytus* had seiz'd, it being the strongest in all those Parts. When *Alexander* approached, and had pitched his Tents near the River *Eordaicus*, he determined to batter the Walls the next Day. *Clytus* had encamp'd his Forces upon the adjacent Mountains, which were very high, and covered with thick Woods, determining that if the *Macedonians* assaulted the City, they would rush upon them on all hands, (for as yet *Glaucias* King of the *Taulantii* had not join'd them.) When *Alexander* drew nigh the City, the Enemy having offered three Boys, three Maids, and as many black Rams for Sacrifice, made a Feint as tho' they would have encounter'd them; but those Mountaineers, however advantagiously posted, soon quitting their Stations, retreated into the City, leaving their very Sacrifices behind. When they were thus

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<sup>4</sup> *Freinshemius* in his Supplement calls this City *Pellium*, and says, that it is seated on the River *Eordaicus*; which is the more to be wonder'd at, because he cites *Arrian* for one of his Authorities; whereas, in reality, neither *Arrian*, nor any other antient Author, say any such thing; for by *Arrian's* Relation it is manifest, that when *Alexander* had pass'd the River *Erigone*, he march'd, the nearest Way, to the River *Eordaicus*, or *Apfus*, beyond which, he says, *Pellion* was seated. *Vid. Gronoviana in Arrian. ad locum.* He has from this Place translated *Arrian*, almost Word for Word, to the End of the next Chapter.

inclosed within their Walls, *Alexander* incamped against them, and determined to have surrounded them with a Wall, to prevent all Succours; but hearing the next Day that *Glaucias* was upon his March to their Relief with a huge Army, and despairing, with the Forces he had, to reduce the Place, because many warlike Troops were there in Garrison, and many more would come against him, should he attempt to storm it: he therefore changed his Resolution, and sent *Philotas* with a strong Body of Horse, which served him as a Guard, to forage in the Enemies Country. *Glaucias* having received Information of his coming, advanced to meet him, and seizing on the Passes thro' the Mountains, endeavoured to obstruct his March; which, when *Alexander* came to understand, and knowing that the Horse would be driven to great Streights if the Night seized them, he forthwith drew off his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and about four hundred Horse, and hastened to their Assistance, leaving the rest to awe the City, lest if the whole Army had decamp'd, the Besieged should have issued forth, and join'd with *Glaucias*.

*Glaucias* no sooner heard of *Alexander's* Approach, than he abandoned his Post between the Mountains, by which means *Philotas* and his Forces returned safe into their Camp. Hitherto, both *Clytus* and *Glaucias* had entertained a Notion, that *Alexander* would be embarrassed among the Hills, where they had posted great Numbers of their Horse, as also several Parties of Darters and Slingers, and other arm'd Soldiers, to annoy him; they had also resolved that those who were left in the City should fall upon them as they drew off. Besides, the Road, along which *Alexander* was obliged to march, was narrow, and woody, and so much streighten'd with a River on one Side, and a steep and craggy Mountain on the other, that four arm'd Men could hardly walk a-breast.



## C H A P. VI.

ALEXANDER, hereupon, having ranged his Army in such a Manner, that the Phalanx of Foot consisted of one hundred and twenty in Depth, and the Horse of two hundred on each Wing, enjoined Silence, that his Commands might be the sooner received, and accordingly order'd the arm'd Soldiers to advance first, with their Spears erect, and upon a Sign given, to reverse them, and sometimes to direct them towards the Right, and then to the Left, as Occasion required. He, in the mean time, alter'd the Phalanx, and rang'd the Wings into various Positions: and thus the whole being new modell'd, and reduced into a *Cuneus*, he rush'd upon the Enemy, who having long stood amazed to see with what Order and Expedition every thing was perform'd, withstood not the first Onset, but suddenly quitted their first Posts, upon the Mountains; whereupon, *Alexander* having commanded his Soldiers to shout, and strike their Spears upon their Shields, the *Taulantii* were so exceedingly terrified with the Noise, that they retired into the City in Disorder. However, he still perceiving a small Number of them posted upon a Hill, nigh which he was obliged to pass, ordered his Body Guards, and such of his Friends as were about him, to arm themselves, and mount their Horses, and thus attack the Hill; which, when they approached, if the Enemy who possess'd the Pass had opposed them, half their Number were to have dismounted and fought among the rest, as Foot Forces. But the Enemy quitted the Hill upon their Approach, and fled confusedly thro' the Country. *Alexander* no sooner made himself Master of this Post, than calling to him about two thousand of  
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the *Agrians* and Archers, he commanded the Targeteers to pass the River, and the *Macedonian* Cohorts to follow them, with Orders, that as soon as they had gain'd the other Shore, they should stretch out their Shields, that the Phalanx might make the greater Shew; he himself, from that Eminence, all the while observing the Enemy's Motions. They seeing that Part of the Army had pass'd over, wheel'd round the Mountains, with a Design to attack them on the Rear; but he with his Forces fronting them, frustrated their Design, and the Phalanx having now pass'd the River, shouted for Joy. The Enemy hereupon perceiving the whole *Macedonian* Force ready to fall upon them, turn'd their Backs and fled. *Alexander* then straight led his *Agrians* and Archers to the River, and attempted to pass it; but perceiving his Rear in Danger, he order'd his Engines to be placed upon the Banks, to play upon the Enemy with all Sorts of missive Weapons, and his Archers, who had just then enter'd the River, to gall them with their Arrows as much as they could, out of the Water; but *Glaucias* durst not come within their Reach: So that the *Macedonians* pass'd over safe, and lost none of their Number in the River.

Three Days after this, *Alexander* having Notice that *Clytus* and *Glaucias* lay carelessly incamped, and had neither appointed a sufficient Watch, nor surrounded themselves with a Ditch, nor Rampart, (as believing that *Alexander* was retired out of Fear) and their Army lay stretch'd out at Length, to their Disadvantage, he privately, under Covert of the Night, with his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and *Cæus*' and *Perdiccas*'s Troops, pass'd a River in their Way, and order'd the rest of his Forces to follow. But as soon as ever an Opportunity offer'd, without waiting for the Arrival of the rest, he dispatch'd his Archers and *Agrians* against them, who rushing upon them unawares, and assailing the weakest Parts

Parts of their Camp with the greatest Fury, they kill'd some in their Sleep, others unarm'd, and others endeavouring to fly; so that many were slain, and many Prisoners were taken: Nor did he cease the Pursuit of them till he reach'd the *Taulantian* Mountains. As many of them as escaped, fled away without their Arms. *Clytus* first fled to the nearest City, which having set on Fire, he hastened to *Glaucias*, who was then in the Country of the *Taulantii*.



## C H A P. VII.

**D**URING these Transactions, some fugitive *Thebans* entering the City by Night, and stirr'd up by some of the Citizens to endeavour a Change of the Government, seiz'd *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, Prefects of the *Cadmean* Tower, who apprehended no Mischief, and having dragg'd them thence, put them to Death. Then in a set Speech they instigated the People to a Revolt from *Alexander*, and, under the old and specious Pretence of Liberty, persuaded them to attempt to throw off the *Macedonian* Yoke, confidently affirming that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. Such a Report had indeed been spread abroad, and gain'd some Credit, because he had been long

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<sup>1</sup> It is strange that *Freinshemius* should not rather chuse to translate *Arrian* literally, in this Place, (which would have been a safe Way) than run the risque of blundering, by paraphrasing upon his Words, and pretending to clear up his Sense. *Arrian* had just said, that *Alexander* had driven *Clitus* and his Men as far as the *Taulantian* Mountains, which, no doubt, were a good way from the City, and yet he will have it that the City here set on Fire, must be the same *Pellium* from whence they fled— So that they had run a vast Way, and never stirr'd a Foot— And not only so, but he adds, that *Alexander* set forth from *Pellium*, and in seven Days arriv'd at *Pellene*, a City of *Thessaly*; whereas *Arrian* says no such thing. *Vide Gronov. ad locum.*

absent,



absent, and no News had come from him. Wherefore it happen'd in this, as in most other Cases, where no certain Intelligence could be had, every one contrived, and believed what pleased him best. *Alexander* being acquainted with this Commotion, thought it was not to be slighted, as well because he had a long time suspected the Fidelity of the *Athenians*, as that he deem'd the *Theban* Audacity a Matter of no small Consequence, if the *Lacedæmonians*, who were already averse to him, and others of the *Peloponnesians* and *Ætolians*, equally desirous of Novelty, should join themselves to the revolted *Thebans*. Having therefore passed by *Eordæa*, and *Elymiotis*, and the rocky Country of *Stymphæa* and *Paryæa* with his Army, on the seventh Day he arrived at *Pellene*, a City of *Theffaly*, and marching thence, on the sixth Day after enter'd *Bæotia*; and so little did the *Thebans* dream of his Approach, that he was at *Onchestus*, with his whole Army, before they receiv'd the News of his passing the Streights. And even then, the Authors of the Sedition affirmed, that that must be an Army newly raised in *Macedonia*, by *Antipater*, and that *Alexander* was dead. Nay, when some asserted, that *Alexander* was at hand, in Person, they still persisted in their Obstinacy, and said, it must be another *Alexander*, the Son of *Aeropus*. However, he moved from *Onchestus*, and approached the Temple of *Iolaus* the next Day, where he made a Halt, that the *Thebans*, repenting their Rashness, might have Time to send Embassadors to him. But so far were they from shewing any Signs of Remorse, that a Party of Horse and light-arm'd Foot suddenly issued out of the City, and assaulting their Out-Guards, slew some of the *Macedonians* with their Darts. *Alexander* hereupon ordered a Party of his light-arm'd Men and Archers against them, who, in a short time, drove them back; tho' they were ready to have enter'd the Camp. The next Day he ad-

vanced with his Army towards the Gate which leads to *Eleuthera* and *Attica*, yet still he forbore to assault the Walls, and therefore pitched his Tents near the *Cadmæan* Tower, that he might be at hand to assist the *Macedonians* in Garrison there; for the *Thebans* had surrounded that Tower with a double Wall, as well to hinder their receiving Succours from abroad, as to prevent their Excursions, and keep them from joining with their Enemies. However, *Alexander*, who had much rather have made up the Matter peaceably, than have had the Citizens drawn in to their Ruin, lay still in his Camp, near the *Cadmæan* Tower. In the mean time, some of the Citizens, who had the Welfare of the State at Heart, proposed to go out to *Alexander*, and intreat his Pardon for this Revolt of the Multitude. But, on the other hand, the Exiles, and Authors of the Sedition, despairing of Mercy for themselves, as also some of the *Bæotian* Nobility, used all imaginable Arguments to incite the Populace to War. However, all this did not provoke *Alexander* to lay close Siege to the City.



## C H A P. VIII.

HOWEVER<sup>1</sup>, *Ptolemy* tells us, that *Perdiccas*, Captain of an advanced Guard, who with his Forces was posted not far from the Town Wall,

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<sup>1</sup> This Chapter, *Freinshemius* has translated throughout, and only interspers'd some Stories out of *Diodorus*, *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, &c. most of which are not much to his Purpose. The Truth is, he was more diligent in collecting Materials, than judicious in chusing; for which Reason he has heap'd together a vast Quantity of all gatherings, and seldom gives his Readers Satisfaction as to the Truth or Probability of any of them.

gave the first Attack upon the Wall, without waiting for *Alexander's* Orders, and making a Breach, rush'd suddenly forwards upon the *Theban* Garrison. He was seconded by *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, another Captain, who no sooner saw him enter the City, but he followed with his Forces. *Alexander* now perceiving a Necessity of fighting, to prevent his Friends being surrounded and cut off, chang'd his former Resolution, and led on the rest of the Troops the same Way, commanding the *Agrians* and Archers to enter by the Breach, but the Targeteers and others to remain without. *Perdiccas* pushing forward to win the inner Wall, was struck with a Dart, and born away into the Camp, grievously wounded; neither did he recover his Strength in a long Time. However, the Troops which entered with him, assisted by the Archers, pursued the Enemy as far as the Street leading to the Temple of *Hercules*, where the Citizens recovering themselves from their Fright, and reassuming their Courage, raised a Shout, which striking a Fear among the Pursuers, they beat them back, and put them to Flight. There *Eurybotas* Captain of the *Cretan* Archers fell, with about seventy of his Men; the rest escaping to the *Macedonian* Brigades of Horse and Targeteers, which were posted without the Walls. *Alexander* beholding the Flight of his Soldiers, and the confused and disorderly Pursuit of the *Thebans*, fell upon them afresh with a choice Body, and drove them back into the City; and so great was their Fear and Terror in their Flight, that they neglected to shut their Gates, and so the Conquerors enter'd with the Conquered; for that Part of the Walls, by reason of the numerous Guards elsewhere, was without Defence. When they came to the *Cadmæan* Tower, the Garrison of that Fort rush'd suddenly forth, and joining with the *Macedonians*, made a great Slaughter of the *Thebans* as far as *Amphion's* Temple: other Parties pursued them into the Fo-

*rum.* A few of the Citizens made a Stand near the Temple of *Amphion*; but perceiving their Case desperate, and that *Alexander* with his Troops press'd hard upon them, as also that their Horse were dispers'd about the Country, resolv'd to consult their own Safety: And now the *Macedonians* themselves were not more implacable, than the *Phocæans*, *Platæans*, and the rest of the *Bœotians*; for tho' the Citizens made no further Resistance, they were slain without Mercy; and now neither private Houses nor Temples were regarded, nor Sex nor Age spared in that general Destruction.



## C H A P. IX.

THE Ruin of so great a City, so suddenly brought about, and so contrary to the Expectation of the Victors, as well as the Vanquished, struck no small Terror into all the other States of Greece; for the *Athenian* Overthrow in *Sicily*, tho' in regard of the Number of the Slain, it brought no less Calamity to the City, yet because the Army was routed far from home, and that it was composed rather of Auxiliaries than Natives, and because their City itself stood untouch'd, and afterwards defended itself gallantly against the *Lacedæmonians* and their

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius* in his Supplement to *Curtius*, Book I. Chap. 13. assures us, that *Thebes* was besieged and taken by Storm, the same Day, and quotes this Passage of *Arrian* for his Authority. He has indeed abridged *Arrian* both before and after that Passage; but neither *Arrian*, nor any other Author say so; and considering the Circumstances of the Story, it is very unlikely it should be true. That it was taken at the first time of making a general Storm, may pass for probable; but that *Alexander* lay no longer than one Day encamp'd before it, will hardly be credited, without better Authority.

Confederates, who vigorously assaulted it, was less dreadful to the *Athenians* themselves, and less surprising to the rest of the *Grecian* States. Again, that other *Athenian* Overthrow by Sea, near the Mouth of the River *Ægis*, was no ways comparable to this, in its Consequences; for there, the City received no other Damage besides the Demolition of her Walls, the Loss of the greatest Part of her Fleet, and a small Diminution of her Power: For her antient Form of Government, as well as her antient Liberties, she still retained, and, after some Time, regained her Strength to such a Degree as to rebuild her Walls, repair her Losses, recover her Dominion of the Seas; and not only so, but to rescue the *Lacedæmonians*, (who had long disputed the Sovereignty with them, and had well nigh conquered their City,) from the most imminent Danger. That Blow given the *Lacedæmonians* at *Leuctra* and *Mantineæ* was rather shocking by reason of its Suddenness, than because of the Multitudes of the Slain; and that other which they received by the *Bæotians* and *Arcadians*, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, wrought greater Astonishment by the strangeness of the Sight, than the greatness of the Loss, both to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates. The sacking of the City *Platæa*, by reason of the small Numbers there slain, (for far the best Part of the Citizens had before removed to *Athens*) was less calamitous; and the Destruction of *Melos* and *Scio*, Sea-port Towns, was rather a Disgrace to the Victors, than a Terror to the *Grecians*. But this sudden and ill-concerted Revolt, and their quick and easy Overthrow, the cruel Slaughter made among them, by those of the same Stock and Nation, whom old Grudges had render'd remorseless; and the signal Overthrow of one of the most powerful and warlike Cities of *Greece*, may with the greatest Justice be referr'd to the Effects of the Divine Vengeance upon them, for their de-

serting the *Greeks* in the *Median War*, for falling upon the *Plataeans*, contrary to the most solemn Treaties, and utterly spoiling their City; for putting the *Lacedæmonian* Captives to Death, against the *Grecian* Custom, and laying the Country waste where the *Greeks* encamp'd against the *Medes*, and thereby endangering the Liberties of all *Greece*; and lastly, for giving their Suffrage against the *Athenians*, when the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates consulted about the sacking of their City. They are reported to have been forewarn'd of this great and terrible Overthrow of their City, by sundry Prodigies from Heaven, which they all along disregarded, till afterwards the Events recalling them to their Remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled. The auxiliary Forces, to whom *Alexander* had given the Spoils of the City, were placed as a Garrison in the *Cadmæan* Tower; but the City itself was levell'd with the Ground. The Lands, saving such as were set apart to sacred Uses, were shared among the Soldiers. The Men and Women who remained after the general Slaughter, (excepting such only of either Sex who were Priests, or had privately recommended themselves to him, or his Father *Philip*, or some of the *Macedonians*, by some signal Service) were ordered to be sold. Nevertheless, the House of <sup>2</sup> *Pindar* the Poet, and those of his Relations, were saved, for the Reverence which *Alexander* bore him. *Orchomones* and *Plataea* were

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<sup>2</sup> *Dion Chrysostom* gives another Reason why *Alexander* saved *Pindar's* House, when he destroy'd the rest of the City: He tells us indeed, that he express'd a high Respect for *Pindar's* Writings in general, and made it one of his chief Pleasures to read them. But this Piece of Generosity had a Foundation nearer home; for it seems *Pindar* had celebrated one of *Alexander's* Family and Name.

The Ruins of *Pindar's* House were to be seen at *Thebes* in *Pausanias's* Time, who lived under *Antoninus* the Philosopher. See *Kennet's* Lives of the *Greek* Poets,

then restored by *Alexander's* Followers, and their Walls rebuilt.



C H A P. X.

THE News of the *Theban* Overthrow was no sooner carried to the rest of *Greece*, than the *Arcadians* pronounced Sentence of Death against all such of their Citizens as had aided the *Thebans* either with Men or Council. The *Eleans* restored their Exiles, because they were *Alexander's* Friends. The Cities of *Ætolia*, severally, sent Embassadors to him, craving Pardon, because of a Report which had been spread abroad, as if they had designed a Revolt as well as the *Thebans*. But the *Athenians*, who were busy with their Celebration of the grand Mysteries, at the very Time when some of the *Thebans* arrived, left off their Rites, in a great Consternation, and conveyed their Instruments of Sacrifice out of the Field into the City, where, calling a Council; by the Advice of *Demades*, they elected ten Embassadors from among the Citizens, to send to *Alexander*, such as they judged would be most acceptable to him. These signified to him, tho' somewhat unseasonably, the publick Joy of the *Athenians* for his safe Return from among the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, and for his Chastisement of the seditious *Thebans*. *Alexander* dismiss'd their Embassadors with a favourable Answer, as he had done the rest; but wrote an Epistle to the *Athenians*, wherein he required, that *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetas*, *Charidemus*, *Epibaltes*, *Dioteumus*, and *Merocles* should be surrender'd up to him, alledging that they were the Authors of the Action at *Chæronea*, and of all the Mischiefs which happened after that Time, either to his Father *Philip*, or him-

self after *Philip's* Decease, and the *Thebans* themselves were not more studious after a Change of Government than they, nor more eager for a Revolt. The *Athenians*, without complying with his Request, sent other Embassadors, who besought him to turn away his Wrath from those Citizens of theirs, whom he had threaten'd. This Embassy he hearken'd to, and pardoned them: And this he did, either out of Reverence to the City, or an earnest Desire of passing over into *Asia*, being willing to leave every thing quiet behind him in *Greece*. *Charidemus* alone, of all those whom he had required, and were not delivered up, he ordered into Banishment, who thereupon fled into *Asia* to King *Darius*.



## C H A P. XI,

THESE Affairs thus concluded, he returned into *Macedonia*, where he offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter Olympius*, according to an Institution of *Archelaus*, and appointed the Celebration of the *Olympick Games* among the *Ægæ*. Some say, he also performed Sports in Honour of the *Muses*. About this Time came News, that the Statue of

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<sup>1</sup> *Justin*, lib. xi. cap. 5. tells us, that *Alexander*, before he undertook this Expedition into *Persia*, put all the Relations of his Stepmother *Eurydice* to Death, whom his Father *Philip* had before exalted to Honours, and Places of Command; and that he even spared not such of his own Kindred as he deem'd able to stir up any Sedition in his Absence. But as neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, nor *Plutarch* mention any such Slaughter, we may, with some Reason, suspect *Justin's* Veracity, especially seeing he has hardly one single Page throughout this whole Story, free from some considerable Error.



*Orpheus* <sup>2</sup> the Son of *OEagrus* the *Thracian*, on Mount *Pieria*, sweated exceedingly: Various were the Opinions of the Augurs concerning this Prodigy; but at last *Aristander* the *Telmissean*, a celebrated Soothsayer, bid *Alexander* take Courage, for it foretold that the Poets of all sorts should exert themselves to the utmost, in singing and describing his great Actions. After this, in the beginning of the Spring, he moved towards the *Hellepont*, (leaving the Administration of the Affairs of *Greece* in *Antipater*'s Hands,) and carried an Army of Foot, consisting of Archers and light-arm'd Soldiers, about <sup>3</sup> Thirty thousand, and a little above Five thousand Horse. He first directed his March to *Amphipolis*, by Way of the Lake *Cercynites*, and thence to the Mouths of the River *Strymon*, which having cross'd, he pass'd by Mount *Pangæa*, along the Road lead-

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<sup>2</sup> These Accounts of Prodigies are common among all Heathen Historians, insomuch that there is hardly any extraordinary Event, recorded by Antiquity, without having one or two of them to foretell it. The *Greeks* were undoubtedly very superstitious; and such Stories were either artfully contrived by the Priests, to animate the Soldier, or by Rhetoricians, Sycophants, and Historians, in after-times, to embellish their Works, which they imagined would be dry and jejune without them. *Curtius* is full of them, and dwells upon them with Pleasure, to shew his Eloquence; and *Freinshemius* does the same, in Imitation of his Master *Curtius*. *Arrian* mentions them but seldom, and generally gives us a Caveat concerning them, to put us in Mind that we ought not to sacrifice our Reason by believing Incredibilities, let who will be the Contrivers.

<sup>3</sup> *Justin*, lib. xi. cap. 6. tells us, his Army consisted of Thirty-two thousand Foot, and Four thousand five hundred Horse, and that he had One hundred eighty-two Ships. *Freinshemius*, relying upon *Arrian*, acquaints us, that of those Thirty thousand Foot, Thirteen thousand were *Macedonians*, Five thousand were Mercenaries, and the rest were raised out of the Confederated States of *Greece*: That the *Triballi*, *Thracians*, and *Illyrians* raised Five thousand, and the *Agrians* One thousand. Of the Five thousand Horse he says, the *Macedonians* raised One thousand eight hundred, the *Thessalians* the like Number, and the rest of the States of *Greece* Six hundred. Besides which, *Cassander* brought him Ninety *Thracian* and *Paonian* Horse, for the forlorn Hope. Vid. *Diod. Sicul.* lib. xvii. p. 400.

ing to *Abdera* and *Maronea*, maritime Cities of *Greece*. Thence he marched to the River *Ebrus*, which being easily forded, he proceeded through the Country of *Patis* to the River *Melas*, and thence, on the twentieth Day after his Departure from *Macedon*, he arrived at *Sestos*, whence marching to *Eleus*, he sacrificed upon the Tomb of *Protesilaus*, because He, of all the *Greeks* who accompanied *Agamemnon* to the Siege of *Troy*, set his Foot first on the *Asiatic* Shore. The Design of this Sacrifice was, that his Descent into *Asia* might be more successful to him, than the former was to *Protesilaus*. Then having committed to *Parmenio* the Care of conveying the greatest Part both of the Horse and Foot from *Sestos* to *Abydos*, they were accordingly transported in One hundred and sixty *Trireme* Gallies, besides many other Vessels of Burden. Several Authors report, that *Alexander* sailed from *Eleus*, another Port in *Greece*, himself commanding the Flag-Ship; and also, that when he was in the Middle of the *Hellepont*, he offered a Bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereids*; and pour'd forth a Libation into the Sea from a Golden Cup. He is moreover said first of all to have stept on Shore in *Asia* compleatly arm'd, and to have erected Altars to *Jupiter Descensor*, and to *Pallas*, and *Hercules*. When he came to <sup>4</sup> *Illium*, he sacrificed to *Pallas Illiaca*, and  
having

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<sup>4</sup> *Strabo* assures us, that in *Alexander's* Days, *Illium* was no better than a Village, wherein was a Temple of *Pallas*, small, and inconsiderable; but that when he returned thither, after the Battle of *Granicus*, he enrich'd the Temple with Gifts, and ordered the Village to be called a City, appointing Overseers to adorn it with spacious Buildings, and declared it free. Afterwards, when he had subdued the *Persians*, he promised, in the Letters which he wrote concerning it, that he would enlarge its Bounds, and erect a magnificent Temple, instead of the small one; and besides, that Himself would see solemn Sports exhibited there. After his Death, *Lyfimachus* undertook the rebuilding of the Temple, and walled the City round; he also induced many of the neighbouring People to  
come

having fix'd the Arms he then wore in her Temple, he took down from thence some consecrated Armour, which had remain'd there from the Time of the Trojan War. This Armour, some Targeteers were always wont to bear before him, in his Expedition. He is also said to have sacrificed to *Priamus* upon the Altar of *Jupiter Hercius*, that he might thereby avert the Wrath of his *Manes* from the Progeny of *Pyrrhus*, whence he deduced his Pedigree.



## C H A P. XII.

WHEN he arrived at *Ilium*, *Menetius* the Governor crown'd him with a Crown of Gold; the same did *Chares* the *Athenian*, who came for that purpose from *Sigæum*; and several others, as well *Greeks* as *Asiatics*, followed their Example. He then encircled the Sepulchre of *Achilles* with a Garland, (as *Hephæstion* did that of *Patroclus*,) and pronounced him happy, who had such a Herald as *Homer* to perpetuate his Name; and indeed he was deservedly so stiled, because that single Accident had rais'd him to the highest pitch of human Glory.

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come and inhabit it, and called it *Alexandria*, in Honour of *Alexander*. It afterwards underwent sundry Changes, and lies now entirely waste. See *Strabo*, lib. xiii. p. 886, & 887. Ed. *Casaubon*. and *Sandy's Travels*, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules* by the Father's Side, and from *Achilles* by the Mother's.

<sup>1</sup> Who this *Menetius* was is uncertain; *Arrian* only calls him *κυβερνήτης*, but *Faciüs* rashly intitles him *Regia classis Dux*. If he was Commander of the Fleet, it is a Wonder we never hear a Word of him afterwards, and how *Onesicritus* came to succeed him. But many Things undoubtedly happened, whereof we, at this Distance of Time, have no manner of Account remaining. Vide *Gro-novian. ad locum*.

As to his Actions, none had hitherto described them in a suitable Manner, either in Prose or Verse, neither had any attempted them in a Lyrick Strain, as the Poets had, heretofore, done those of *Hieron*, *Gelon*, *Teberon*, and many more, whose Exploits were no ways comparable to his; for which Reason his greatest Acts are less known than the least and most inconsiderable of many antient Generals. The Expedition of *Cyrus* against *Artaxerxes* with Ten thousand Men, with the Captivity of *Clearchus* and his Followers, and the Return of those Ten thousand by Way of the Sea-coast, under the Conduct of *Xenophon*, are render'd much more illustrious by *Xenophon's* Pen, than either *Alexander* or his greatest Atchievements. *Alexander* never made War under another's Banner, nor had he ever an Occasion to encounter those who guarded the Coast, in his Flight from the King of *Persia*. And indeed there was never any General, whether *Greek* or *Barbarian*, whose Exploits, either in Number or Greatness, are fit to stand in Competition with his. This was the Reason which first induced me to attempt this History, not deeming myself altogether unworthy to transmit those mighty Acts of his to Posterity. But who I am, that thus characterize myself, and what is my Name, tho' That be far from obscure, concerns the Reader but little to know; neither would he be any ways profited by an account of my Family, my City, or what Offices I have born there; let it suffice him to know, that an extreme Passion for Letters, wherein I have always indulged myself from my Youth, has, to me, been instead of Family, City, and Magistracy all-together: Wherefore I may perhaps be little less worthy a Place among the most celebrated Authors of *Greece*, than *Alexander* among her most famous Heroes.

C H A P. XIII.

ALEXANDER then moved from *Illiūm* to *Arisbe*, where his whole Army had encamp'd after their passing the *Hellepont*, and leaving *Percontas* and *Lampsacus*, the next Day he arrived at the River *Practius*, which issuing out from the Sides of Mount *Ida*, falls into the Sea, between the *Euxine* and the *Hellepont*. Thence, leaving the City *Colona*, he came to *Hermotus*. He there dispatch'd a number of Scouts before his Army, under the Command of *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*, as also a Troop of those term'd his Friends from *Apollonia*, under the Conduct of *Socrates* the Son of *Sathon*; and to these he added four Companies of Scouts. In this March he dispatch'd *Panegorus* the Son of *Lycagoras*, one of his Friends, to take Possession of the City *Priamus*, which was surrendered by the Inhabitants. The Persian Commanders were <sup>1</sup> *Arfames*, *Rbeomitbres*, *Petenes*, *Niphates*, as also *Spithridates* Governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and *Arfites* President of that Part of *Pbrygia* which borders on the *Hellepont*. *Memnon* the *Rhodian* dissuaded the Persians from offering the *Macedonians* Battle, who were not only superior to them in Foot, but also encouraged by the presence of their King; whereas *Darius* was absent. He advis'd them rather to trample the Herbage un-

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius*, in his Supplement to *Curtius*, has changed this Gentleman's Name to *Arfanes*; and charges *Aldus*, and all the Copies of *Arrian* with Errors for having it *Arfames*. However, his Reason for this Alteration being no more than that the Termination is a little more usual in Persian Names, I shall leave it as I found it, unless I had better Authority for an Alteration. See *Gro-nov. in Arrian*.

der their Horses Feet, to burn all the Fruits of the Country, and even to lay the Towns and Villages waste; by which means, *Alexander* finding himself destitute of Provisions and Forage, would be unable to penetrate further. To this *Arfites*, in the same Council, is said to have replied, That he would never suffer so much as one of the Houses of those he had subdued, to be burnt: and this Resolution was the more satisfactory to the *Persians*, because they then begun to suspect, that *Memnon* endeavoured to protract the War, for the sake of the Royal Honours he enjoy'd.



#### C H A P. XIV.

**I**N the mean while, *Alexander* drew near the River *Granicus* with a choice Army, which having ranged into a double Phalanx, he placed the Horse on the two Wings, and the Baggage and other Carriages in the Rear. The Scouts, whose

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius*, Suppl. *Curt. lib. ii. cap. 5.* gives us an Account of a remarkable Prodigy which happened here before this Battle; which may serve to convince us whence most Stories of Omens had their Rise: "That the Soldiers Minds might be the better confirm'd in their Hopes of Victory," says he, while the Priest "was sacrificing for a safe Passage over the River *Granicus*, the King gave him secret Orders to write some revers'd Characters, with a certain Liquor, in the Palm of his Hand, which being clapp'd upon the reeking Liver, would appear right. The Writing was to signify, that the Gods had decreed the Victory to *Alexander*." This inspired the Soldiers with such Courage, that they no longer doubted the Favour of the Gods, and therefore resolutely seized on the Victory, because, by the irreversible Decrees of Fate, they believed it their own already. See *Frontinus's Stratagem, lib. i. cap. 11.*—And indeed, when the Priest and the General club for a Miracle, it is the least the Soldiers can do to give an implicit Faith to it.

Office was to survey the Enemies Strength, as also the Horsemen, who were arm'd with Pikes, and the light-arm'd Soldiers, in Number about Five hundred, were under the Command of *Hegelocus*. He was now not far from the River *Granicus*, when some of his Scouts hasted to him, with the utmost Expedition, and brought him News that the *Persians*, with a well appointed Army, lay incamp'd on the other Side; whereupon he drew up his Forces in Battle Array. Then *Parmenio*, approaching him, is said to have spoke to this Effect: "It seems good, O King, that we should, at this Time, encamp as near the Bank of the River as possible; for I cannot suppose that the Enemy, who are so far inferior to us in Foot, will remain all Night in their present Encampment; which will give an easy Passage to our Army to-morrow as soon as the Dawn appears; for we may then pass over before they can draw up in Order of Battle; whereas we cannot now attempt it, without manifest Hazard. Besides, we can never propose to convey an Army over a River, when an Enemy stands on the opposite Bank, ready to dispute the Passage; especially, seeing the Stream is deep, and full of Eddies, and the opposite Shore steep and rugged; and therefore our Enemies well-order'd Cavalry will certainly attack us as we climb the other Bank, and fall upon our Wings, where they are the most exposed. Such a Blow as this, at our first setting out, would not only be terrible at this Juncture, but a grievous Specimen of ill Success throughout the whole War." To whom *Alexander* replied, "These Reflections of yours are certainly just, O *Parmenio*: But it would be a mighty Disgrace to us, who have so easily pass'd the *Hellepont*, to be stop'd here by this Brook, (for so, by way of Scorn, he term'd the River *Granicus*) and hindered from reaching the other Shore. This, I am persuaded, would reflect upon the Glory of the *Macedonians*, and  
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“ my Readiness in encountering Dangers; and besides, the *Persians* will surely stile themselves our Equals in War, unless we, in this first Conflict, do something worthy the Terror which we bear.



## C H A P. XV.

HAVING thus spoke, he appointed *Parmenio* over the Left Wing, and in the Right, where himself presided, was *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*, with the Royal Cohort, and the Archers and *Agrians*, as also *Amyntas* the Son of *Arabeus*, with the Pikemen, the *Paonians*, and *Socrates's* Cohort. Next these were the Royal Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor*, another of *Parmenio's* Sons. Then the Battalion of *Perdiccas* the Son of *Orontes*; and after these, that of *Cænus* the Son of *Polemocrates*. Next, those of *Craterus* the Son of *Alexander*, and *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*. And last of all, the Forces headed by *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*. The first on the Left Wing, were the *Thessalian* Horse, commanded by *Calas* the Son of *Harpalus*: Then, a Troop of Auxiliaries led on by *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus*. Next to these, the *Thracians*, headed by *Agathon*. After these, were the Foot, and the Squadrons of *Craterus*, *Meleager*, and *Philip*, reaching quite to the Centre of the Army. The *Persian* Forces consisted of about Twenty thousand Horse, and near the same Number of mercenary Troops of Foot. Their Horse stood stretch'd out in a long Range, on the Bank of the River, and the Foot behind them. But when they beheld *Alexander* himself facing their Left Wing, (for he was easily known, as well by the brightness of his Armour, as by the fierceness of the Countenances of his Body Guards) they there placed their Horse thicker upon the



the Bank. Both Armies then stood, some time, fronting each other, and observed a profound Silence, as tho' they dreaded the Event. The *Persians* waited till the *Macedonians* should enter the River, that they might attack them as they came forth; whereupon *Alexander* mounting his Steed, and exhorting those about him to follow his Example, and behave themselves like Men, he sent the light Horse into the River, with the *Pæonians*, and one Troop of Foot, led by *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*; but a little before this, he had sent *Socrates's* Troop the same Way, as also *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, on whom the whole Charge of the Horse was devolved that Day. He himself led on the Right Wing; and the Trumpets sounding, and the Soldiers raising a loud martial Shout, he enter'd the Ford, leading his Troops a little obliquely down the Current, lest the Enemy should attack them before they could draw up; for which Reason he endeavoured to gain the Shore, that he might encounter them with a well-order'd Body.



C H A P. XVI.

THE *Persians*, posted at the Place where *Amyntas* and *Socrates* first approach'd the other Side, ply'd them warmly with Darts from their high Stations; and others, where the Shore was flat and level, threw their Javelins into the Water. Never was a more obstinate Conflict of Horse known; these pushing forward to gain the Shore, and those endeavouring to obstruct them. The *Persians* fought chiefly with barbed Javelins; the *Macedonians* with Spears. The *Macedonians* being far inferior in Numbers, received no small Loss at the first Onset,

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because they were forced to fight in a low slippery Place in the River ; whereas the *Persians* were posted on an Eminence, which they had taken care to line with their best Troops of Horse. There *Memnon's* Sons, and there *Memnon* himself fought valiantly ; and all the *Macedonians* who first attempted to gain the Bank were slain, except some few who retired to *Alexander*, then in full March towards them. He soon approach'd at the Head of the Right Wing, and observing the Place where the *Persian* Officers and their Horse stood thickest, there he made his first Effort. There was then a dreadful Scene of Blood round the King ; and the *Macedonian* Troops, one after another, easily gain'd the Shore. Tho' they fought on Horseback, yet being in the Water, they seem'd to fight on Foot ; for there the Horse encounter'd with Horse, and Man with Man. The *Macedonians* strove to drive the *Persians* from the Bank, and they endeavour'd to obstruct the others landing, and to push them back into the River. However, the *Macedonians* at last gain'd the Advantage, and repuls'd their Enemies, partly by their Strength, and superior Skill in Martial Discipline, and partly because they us'd corneil Lances against the others Javelins. *Alexander* having broke the Staff of his, demanded another from *Aretes* the Master of his Horse ; and when *Aretes* had broke his, he continued to fight with the Shaft which he held in his Hand, till shewing it to *Alexander*, he order'd him another. *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, one of his Friends, reach'd the King his own Spear, which he no sooner received, but viewing <sup>1</sup> *Mithridates*, Son-in-

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius* has fallen into an Error here, by the Similitude of the two Names, *Mithridates*, and *Spithridates*. *Arrian* expressly calls *Mithridates* Son-in-Law to *Darius*, and *Spithridates* Governor of *Lydia*, as if it was done on purpose to distinguish them from each other. Both of them were slain in this Battle: The first was

in-Law to *Darius*, mounted on a stately Horse at the Head of his Troops, he, with a small Party of his own, met him on Horseback, and striking him thro' the Mouth, cast him to the Ground. Then *Rhæfæces*, in the Heat of his Fury, coming against *Alexander*, struck at his Head with a Sword, which carrying away Part of his Helmet, gave him a slight Wound; but he perceiving it, thrust his Lance thro' his Breastplate into his Body, and kill'd him. And now *Spithridates* coming behind *Alexander*, had already lifted up his Sword to kill him; but *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas* prevented him, for with one Stroke he disabled his Arm, whereupon his Sword fell to the Earth.



C H A P. XVII.

IN the mean while, the Horse continued passing the River, as fast as they could, and join'd the Army; so that the *Persians* were every where gall'd by their Lances, and borne down by them: They also sustain'd no small Damage by the light-arm'd Foot, who fought among the Horse. They begun first to give Way where *Alexander* fought in Person, soon after which, the main Body retired, and both Wings were overpower'd and put to Flight; so that above a Thousand *Persian* Horse were slain by the

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was run thro' the Mouth with a Lance; the second had his Sword-Arm almost cut off, as he was going to strike *Alexander*, and was afterwards run thro' the Body. However, notwithstanding all this, *Freinsheimius* thinks them but one Person. He was undoubtedly a good Christian, and thought it unreasonable that a Man should be kill'd twice, merely because he had the Misfortune to go by two Names. *Vide Freinsheim. in Curt. lib. ii. cap. 5.*

Pursuers. Yet did not *Alexander* follow them far from the Field, but faced about to attack the foreign mercenary Troops, whose whole Body still stood firm and entire, as at first; but who seem'd rather stunn'd with the unexpected Event, than fix'd by any steady Resolution; for the Phalanx of Foot, and the whole Body of Horse, rushing violently upon them, they were all slain, not so much as one of their whole Number escaping, unless such as might conceal themselves among the Heaps of dead Bodies, and about Two thousand who surrender'd themselves Prisoners. Among the *Persian* Commanders who fell that Day, were *Niphates*, <sup>1</sup> *Petenes*, *Spitbridates* Governor of *Lydia*, <sup>2</sup> *Mythrobuzanes* President of *Cappadocia*, *Mitbridates* Son-in-Law to *Darius*, *Arbupales* Son to *Darius Artaxerxes*, *Pharnaces* Brother to the Wife of *Darius*, and *Omares* Captain of the Band of Mercenaries. *Arfites* fled from the Battle, and escaped into *Phrygia*, where he is said to have slain himself, because he was deem'd the Author of that great Overthrow. Of the Royal Cohort of the *Macedonians*, about Twenty-five fell at the first Onset, whose Statues, cast in Brass by *Lycippus*, at the Command of *Alexander*, were placed in the City *Dio*. The same Artist also cast the Statue of *Alexander* himself, in Brass: For he was su-

<sup>1</sup> He is called *Petanes* by *Freinshemius* in his Supplement, for what Reason I know not, since all the Editions of *Arrian* which I have seen, have it *Petenes*. Vide *Freinsb. ad Curt. lib. ii. cap. 5.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gronovius* is of Opinion, that neither *Mythrobuzanes* nor *Arbupales* are real *Persian* Names, and imagines all the Copies of *Arrian* to be corrupt. He has indeed been so civil as to substitute *Artoibares* instead of *Arbupales*, but has left us to guess for our selves as to the latter. However, as his *Artoibares* is but conjectural, and all the Copies of *Arrian*, according to his own Confession, run against him; I would advise the two Gentlemen, by all means, to rest contented with their present Names, till some learned Critick can assign them others, from some Authority better than Conjecture. Vide *Gronov. ad Arrian. cap. xvii.*

perior to all others of his Profession. Of the other Troops of Horse, nigh Seventy were slain ; and of the Foot Forces about Thirty ; all whom *Alexander* order'd to be interr'd the next Day, and with them their Arms, and warlike Accoutrements. To their Parents and Children also, in whatever City they were settled, he granted the Freedom of the Place, and wholly releas'd them and their Goods, from all Exactions, publick or private. His Care of the Wounded was no less ; for he went about, and visited each of them, saw their Wounds, and examined how they received them, allowing each the free Liberty of being the Herald of his own Praise. He also took Care to bury the *Persian* Captains, and the mercenary *Greeks*, who served the *Persians* as Auxiliaries, and fell in that Day's Action. But as many of those Mercenaries as he took alive, he sent, in Chains, to Prison in *Macedonia* ; because they, being *Greeks*, had borne Arms for Barbarians against their Country, in Opposition to the Laws of *Greece*. To *Athens* he sent Three hundred Suits of *Persian* Armour, to be hung up in the Temple of *Pallas* there, by way of Acknowledgment, and order'd an Inscription to be fix'd over them, to this Effect : “ *Alexander* the Son of *Philip*, and all the “ *Greeks*, except the *Lacedæmonians*, have devoted “ these Spoils, taken from the Barbarians inhabit- “ ing *Asia*.”



C H A P. XVIII.

**C**ALAS was then constituted Lieutenant of that Province instead of *Arfites*, and the same Tribute order'd to be paid, as had been before paid to *Darius*. And as many of the Barbarians as would descend from the Mountains, where they lay hid, and

surrender themselves, were suffered to return to their Habitations. The *Zelitæ* he pardoned, because he knew they were forced into the Barbarian Service. He then dispatch'd *Parmenio* to take *Dasyclium*, which he easily performed, the Garrison having quitted it and fled. He himself march'd toward *Sardis*, and when he was about seventy Stadia distant from that City, he was met by *Mytbrenes*, Governor of the Garrison in the Castle, accompanied by the chief Citizens; these surrendering the City into his Hands, and *Mytbrenes* the Castle, with the Royal Treasures therein contain'd. He then proceeded to the River *Hermus*, about twenty Stadia distant from *Sardis*, where he encamp'd; and from whence he dispatch'd *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes* to *Sardis*, to take the Government of the Castle, and carrying *Mytbrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians*, and other *Lydians*, he granted the Privilege of being governed by their antient Laws. He then entered the Castle, which was garrison'd by *Persians*, and seem'd to him well fortify'd. It was seated on a high Rock, which was every where very steep, and surrounded with a triple Wall. He therefore purposed to erect a Temple on the Top of that Eminence, and therein to dedicate an Altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in Suspence, which part of the Castle was most commodious for that Purpose, a dreadful Tempest arose on a sudden, huge Claps of Thunder were heard, and a violent Storm fell on that part where the royal Palace of the *Lydian* Kings had stood. Thus the God seem'd to point out the place where the Temple should be erected; and it was order'd to be built accordingly. The Government of this Castle, he committed into the Hands of *Pausanias*, one of his Friends; but the Collection of Tributes and Imposts to *Nicias*. *Asander* the Son of *Philotas* was constituted Prefect of *Lydia*, and the rest of the Provinces of *Spitbridates*; and had such a Number  
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of Horse and light-arm'd Foot allowed him, as were judg'd necessary. *Calas*, and *Alexander* the Son of *Aeropus*, were dispatch'd into the Province govern'd by *Memnon*, and with them were the *Peloponnesians*, and most of the Royal Cohort, except the *Argives*, who had been left to garrison the Castle of *Sardis*. In the mean while, the Fame of this Battle being every where spread abroad, the mercenary Troops which lay in Garrison at *Ephesus*, having seiz'd two *Trireme* Gallies, fled, and with them *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, who had before withdrawn himself from *Alexander* in *Macedonia*, not because of any Injury received, but out of a certain Hatred, he had conceived against him, as deeming himself too great to pay him any Homage. On the fourth Day after the Battle, *Alexander* coming to *Ephesus*, order'd all their Exiles to be recall'd, and having abolished the Oligarchy thereof, established a Popular Government there. The Tributes which he took from the Barbarians, he order'd to be paid to *Diana*, as aforetime. The Citizens hereupon casting off all Fear of their former Rulers, conspired to slay those who had brought *Memnon* into the City, as also those who had robb'd the Temple of *Diana*, and overthrown the Statue of *Philip* therein; and those who had defaced the Sepulchre of *Heropythus*, (by whom the City was formerly freed from Tyranny) in the *Forum*: And accordingly, having seiz'd *Syrphaces*, and his Son *Pblegon*, with his Brother's Children, who had

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<sup>1</sup> That the Temple of *Diana* was set on fire by *Herostratus*, more than twenty Years before this Time, namely, on the Night that *Alexander* was born, is a known Story. It was then rebuilding with great Cost and Magnificence; and the King, to encourage the *Ephesians* to proceed vigorously in the Work, commanded, that the Tribute which they had hitherto paid the *Persians*, and which had been formerly dedicated to *Diana*, should be restored towards the finishing this Fabrick. See this at large in *Strabo*, lib. xiv. p. 949. Edit. Casaub.

fled into the Temple, they drew them forth and stoned them. *Alexander* hereupon strictly forbade all Inquiry after the rest; for he was afraid, that if that Liberty was once given to the People, the Guilty and Innocent, either thro' Envy or Avarice, would be alike Sufferers: And he gain'd himself a vast Credit among the *Ephesians* by this very Action.



## C H A P, XIX,

ABOUT this Time, arrived Ambassadors from *Magnesia* and the *Tralli*, proffering to surrender their Cities to *Alexander*, whither he dispatch'd *Parmenio*, with Two thousand five hundred mercenary Foot, and as many *Macedonians*, besides Two hundred of the Royal Cohort of Horse. He also sent *Alcimalus* the Son of *Agathocles*, with the like Force, to reduce those Cities of *Æolia* and *Ionis*, which the Barbarians yet held. He moreover issued out his Royal Mandate, That the Aristocracy, or Government of the Nobility, should be every where abolished, and the Democracy, or Popular State, set up: That all their own Country Laws should be every where restored; and that the Tributes which had been exacted by the Barbarians, should be remitted. While he continued at *Ephesus*, he sacrificed to *Diana*, and led his whole Army in Procession, with all their Military Accoutrements, in Honour of that Goddess. Then, with the Remainder of his Foot, the Archers, and *Agrians*, the *Thracian* Horse, the Royal Cohort, and three other Troops, he march'd the next Day towards *Miletus*. At his first Approach, the outward City (as it is call'd) surrender'd to him, being without a Garrison: Wherefore encamping there, he resolved to surround the inner



inner City with a Wall; for *Hegistratus*, on whom *Darius* had conferr'd the Government of the *Milefians*, had, before this Time, wrote Letters to him concerning the Surrender; but receiving Intelligence, that the *Persian* Army was not far off, he took Courage, and resolv'd to keep the City for them. But *Nicanor*, Admiral of the *Grecian* Fleet, anticipating the *Persians*, arriv'd there three Days before them, and with an Hundred and fixty Ships, took the Haven on the Island *Lade*, near *Miletus*. The *Persian* Fleet coming too late, and their Commanders finding *Lade* already possess'd by *Nicanor*, withdrew from thence, and came to an Anchor under Mount *Mycale*. Neither did *Alexander* defend that Island only by the Ships in the Haven; but he transported Four thousand *Tbracians*, and other foreign Soldiers thither. The Barbarian Fleet consisted of about Four hundred Ships. *Parmenio* advis'd *Alexander* to a Naval Engagement, assuring him, that the *Greeks* would be Victors at Sea, because a lucky Omen had just happen'd: An Eagle being seen upon the Shore, from one of the Ships of his Navy. He also added, that if they overcame their Enemies, they

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<sup>1</sup> I have already taken notice, that some Omen or other always preceded a great Action. Here, an Eagle is seen on Shore, from one of their Ships at Sea. This might be true, and nothing at all extraordinary in it. However, it must be a Prodigy, and they were to have the Interpretation of it. *Parmenio* interpreted it his Way; but that not pleasing *Alexander*, he was resolv'd to have it his own. The whole was, undoubtedly, a Contrivance to animate the Soldier, which they omitted no Opportunities of doing. Be it as it will, this may serve to shew us that they plac'd no real Confidence in their Omens, if they suppos'd their Enemies Strength much superior to their own. *Parmenio* would hazard a Sea-Fight, because an Eagle was seen from the Sea. No, says *Alexander*, we will rather fight by Land, 'because the Eagle was seen on Shore. *Alexander* knew the Enemies Strength by Sea, and durst not engage them there; but he had beaten them before by Land, and therefore doubted not but he might do it again. So that he would have come to just the same Resolution if they had seen no Eagle at all.

would

would reap an immense Advantage from such an Engagement, during the whole War ; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast Danger could ensue, because the *Persians*, by virtue of their Shipping, already held the Sovereignty of the Sea, without fighting : As for his Part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the Danger of the Fleet in his own Person. However, *Alexander* return'd him Answer, That he was mistaken in his Conjectures, and did not interpret the Omen justly ; for it would be a Point of small Prudence in him, with so few Ships, to hazard an Engagement against a Fleet so numerous ; and with Soldiers so little train'd up in Naval Discipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Pbœnicians* : Neither was he willing that the Barbarians should try the Skill and Valour of the *Macedonians* on so unstable an Element : And besides, should they be beaten in a Sea-Fight, an inexpressible Damage would accrue to them, from the Fame their Enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the News of an Overthrow at Sea, they would begin to study Innovations. All which Things, maturely weigh'd, he deem'd a Sea-Fight altogether unsafe, at that Juncture : And for his Part, he expounded the Omen in a different Manner. The Eagle, indeed, he allowed, promised Success ; but as she was seen on the Shore, it seem'd rather to portend, that he should become Master of the Enemies Fleet, by beating their Armies on the Continent.





## CHAP. XX.

**A**BOUT this Time *Glaucippus*, one of the chief Men of *Miletus*, was dispatch'd to *Alexander* from the People and foreign Auxiliaries, (to whom the chief Care of the City was committed) to acquaint him, that the *Milefians* were willing their Walls and Gates should be free to him as well as the *Persians*, if on these Terms, he would raise his Siege. *Alexander*, upon this, order'd the Messenger immediately to return, and tell the Citizens to prepare every thing for a speedy Storm. Whereupon he moved his Engines to the Walls, which, in a short time, being partly shaken, and partly beat

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<sup>1</sup> This whole Chapter *Freinshemius* has translated, and inserted in his Supplement, *lib. ii. cap. 7.* and indeed it is evident he has taken the whole Substance of his Supplement from *Arrian*. However, to shew us that Miracles are of Force to convince us of the Truth of History, as well as of Religion, he has obliged his Readers with no fewer than three, from so many different Authors. The first (if I mistake not) is from *Lactantius*, where he says, that *Alexander's* Soldiers having storm'd the City, broke into the Temple of *Ceres*, with a Design to plunder it, but a Fire suddenly rush'd from the inner Parts thereof, like Lightning, and put forth the sacrilegious Wretches Eyes. The second is from *Athenaus*, who acquaints us, that *Alexander* found a Spring there, which, at its Head was brackish, but after it had run some Space upon the Surface of the Earth, (without any Mixture of other Water, I suppose, for otherwise the Miracle is not worth a Farthing) it became exceeding sweet and pleasant to the Taste. But the third from *Pliny* far outdoes the other two: For he says, that a Dolphin at *Jasso*, (a Town upon an Island not far from *Miletus*) being enamour'd with a Boy, knew his Voice—— What modern Philosopher after this, dares vouch that Fish cannot hear?—— and whenever he was call'd, took him upon his Back, and convey'd him safe thro' the Waters. Whereupon *Alexander*, imagining the Boy a Favourite of *Neptune*, appointed him his Priest.—— *Arrian* undoubtedly knew these Stories, but deem'd them inconsistent with the Gravity of an Historian.

down;

down; he drew his Army forwards, that they might make a sudden Entrance where-ever a Breach became practicable; the *Persians*, all this while, no further off than *Mysale*, being Witnesses of the Streights of their besieged Friends. *Nicanor*, in the mean time, observing *Alexander's* Motions, made Sail from the Island *Lade*, and coasting along Shore, enter'd the Haven of *Miletus*; in the very Jaws, or narrowest Parts of which, ranging his *Triremes*, with their Beaks towards the Sea, he at once shut up the Entrance of the Port from the *Persian* Navy, and put an End to all the Citizens Hopes of Succour. The *Macedonians* then entering the City, and rushing forwards, and the *Milesians* and mercenary Soldiers now despairing of Safety, some of them cast themselves into the Sea, and lying upon their Shields escaped safe into a certain Island, whose Name is now unknown. Others leaping into their Boats, as they endeavour'd to escape the *Macedonian* *Triremes*, were taken at the Mouth of the Haven; and many were slain in the City. *Alexander* having gain'd the Place, moved next with his Fleet, to assault those who had fled into the Island; and having order'd Ladders to be fix'd to the Beaks of their Ships, they begun to climb up a Part thereof, as steep as a Wall: But when he perceived that the Islanders were resolved to hold out to the last Extremity, he was moved with Compassion towards them, as deeming them both Brave and Loyal; wherefore he sent them Proposals, that the mercenary *Greeks* should serve under him, and receive his Pay, and that the *Milesians*, who had saved themselves from Slaughter in the City, should have Life and Liberty granted them. The Barbarian Fleet then moving from *Mysale*, sail'd all Day in View of the *Grecians*, hoping by that means to dare them to an Engagement at Sea, and at Night they return'd to their former Station, which was no way commodious, because they were forced to send as far as the Mouths  
of

of the River *Mæander* for fresh Water. *Alexander* receiving Intelligence of this, and having block'd up the Mouth of the Haven of *Miletus* with his Ships, so as to hinder the Enemies Fleet from entering it, dispatch'd *Philotas* with all his Horse, and three Troops of Foot, to *Mycale*, to hinder the *Persians* from landing; who being hereupon reduced to great Streights for want of Water, and other Necessaries; and besieged every where, but on board; they sailed thence to *Samos*, where furnishing themselves with whatever they wanted, they came to *Miletus*, and drawing up the chief part of their Fleet before the Haven, to provoke the *Macedonians* to put out to Sea, five of their Ships run themselves into a certain Creek, between the other Island and the Army, in hopes to surprize *Alexander's* empty Fleet; for they knew that the Sailors were disperfed up and down, far from their Ships, some to gather Wood, others Provisions, others Plunder, and some were absent on other Occasions. *Alexander* no sooner saw the five *Persian* Ships approach, but he dispatch'd ten out of his Fleet, well Mann'd, to meet them, with Orders to engage them. But they perceiving the *Macedonians* bear up towards them, contrary to their Expectations. stood immediately away, and return'd to the rest of their Navy; only one of them, belonging to the *Jassi*, a heavy Sailor, was taken; but the other four being swifter, escaped safe to their own Triremes. Upon which Disappointment, the *Persians* growing weary of their Undertaking, drew off their Fleet from before *Miletus*.





## C H A P. XXI.

ALEXANDER then, partly for want of Money, and partly because his Naval Force was inferior to the *Persians*, resolved to discharge his Fleet; for he was unwilling to hazard his Army in any Engagement by Sea. He considered also, that now he had got Footing on the firm Land of *Asia*, he would not stand in need of a Fleet; and when their Sea-ports were taken, the *Persians* would also be under a necessity of discharging theirs; for they would neither be able to procure a constant Supply of Oars, nor would they have so much as one Port in *Asia* to betake themselves to: And thus he interpreted the Omen of the Eagle to signify, that he should destroy the Enemies Naval Force by his Land Army. After this, he directed his March straight to *Caria*, because a great Body of Troops, as well Barbarians as Auxiliaries, were said to be in *Halicarnassus*. Wherefore, all the Towns between *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus* surrendering at his first Approach, he encamp'd five Stadia distant from the City, because he imagined the Siege thereof might take him up some Time, the Place being well fortified; and where-ever there seem'd to be any Deficiency of Strength, *Memnon*, who was there present, and had been before declared Admiral of *Darius's* Fleet, and Governor of all *Lower Asia*, had supplied it long before; for many Troops of Mercenaries lay there in Garrison, besides several, of *Persian* Soldiers; he had also brought the Triremes into the Haven, imagining they would be of great Advantage to him, in the Preservation of the City: and accordingly, on the very first Day of the Siege, while *Alexander* was leading his Army forwards to the Walls, near the Gate

Gate looking towards *Mylassa*, a strong Party issued out on a sudden, and a sharp Skirmish happened; but the *Macedonians*, bearing hard upon them, beat them back, and forced them to retire within their Walls. A few Days after this, *Alexander* drew out his Targeteers, and Royal Cohort of Horse, as also *Perdiccas*' and *Meleager*'s Troops of Foot, with the Archers and *Agrians*, to that Part of the City which looks towards *Myndus*, that he might view the Wall, and try if it was more easy to be assaulted there than elsewhere, or if by some sudden and unexpected Excursion, he might not surprize *Myndus* itself; for the reducing that City, he thought, would greatly contribute to his making himself Master of *Halicarnassus*; and not only so, but some of the *Myndians* had promised to surrender their City to him, if he would make his Approach thither secretly, and under Covert of the Night. At Midnight, therefore he approach'd the Walls, according to his Promise; but perceiving no Signs of a Surrender from the Citizens, and considering that he had neither Engines, nor Scaling-Ladders at hand, as coming there not to besiege a City, but to have it deliver'd to him; he nevertheless, ordered the *Macedonian* Phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the Wall, which they did, and presently overturn'd one of the Towers thereupon, without making a Breach in the Wall itself. But the Citizens making an obstinate Defence, and being assisted by the *Halicarnassæans*, who sent them Succours by Sea, *Alexander* was disappointed in his Expectations of taking it at the first Assault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off, and return'd to his Siege of *Halicarnassus*: and first of all, order'd the Ditch which the Citizens had dug round their Walls, of Thirty Cubits in Breadth, and Fifteen in Depth, to be fill'd up, that so the wooden Towers out of which they were to direct their missive Weapons against the Besieged, and their Engines to shake the Walls, might advance forwards.

forwards. The Ditch being accordingly fill'd up, the Towers begun to advance; but the Besieged issued forth by Night, with a Design of burning both the Towers and Engines, which were now nigh the Walls; and had certainly effected their Designs, had they not been encounter'd by the *Macedonians*, who were placed to guard the Engines, and others who came hastily forth, at the Noise of the Skirmish; so that they were, with small Loss, beat back into the City. There fell of the *Halicarnassæans* in this Conflict, One hundred and seventy, among whom was ' *Neoptolemus* the Brother of *Arrabæus*, and Son of *Amyntas*, one of those who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians*, Sixteen were slain, and near Three hundred wounded; for that Sally being made in the Night, they were the less able to guard their Bodies, and avoid the Darts and Arrows of their Enemies.

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' Ο Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀρραβαίου τοῦ Ἀμύντου ἀδελφός, &c. This, *Freinshemius*, Suppl. Curt. lib. ii. cap. 9. has translated, " *Neoptolemus*, who, with his Brother *Amyntas*, had fled to *Darius* — without taking any notice of the Ἀρραβαίου. But he is certainly in an Error, and seems to have been sensible of some Difficulty in the Passage, by his leaving that Word untranslated: For he will never be able to prove, that *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus* fled to *Darius*. But it may be interpreted otherwise, without straining the Matter at all, thus; ' Ο Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ ἀδελφός Ἀρραβαίου τοῦ Ἀμύντου: *Neoptolemus*, the Brother of *Arrabæus*, and Son of *Amyntas*. That these two were Brothers, and Sons of *Amyntas*, is well known. They had also two other Brothers, *Heromenes* and *Alexander*, whose Names are recorded in the Twenty-sixth Chapter of this Book. See *Gronovius's* Notes on this Passage.







## C H A P. XXII.

SOON after this, two *Macedonian* Soldiers, intimate Friends and Companions, belonging to the Troop which was afterwards given to *Perdiccas*, beginning to extol each his own Valour, and heroick Exploits, in an extraordinary manner; and a Quarrel arising between them in their Cups, about their Honour, they agreed to arm themselves secretly, and march towards the Walls near the Tower pointing to *Miletus*, designing rather to make Trial of each other's Valour in single Combat, than of adventuring a dangerous Conflict with the Enemy. The Townsmen, however, espying them, and perceiving that only Two attempted rashly to approach the Walls, issued forth. But they slew the first as soon as they came near, and cast their Darts at the next, who were drawn thither by the Noise, and were at last overborn by Numbers, and the Disadvantage of their Station; for their Enemies, in attacking them, threw their Weapons from an Eminence. In the mean while, many hastened thither from *Perdiccas'* Troop, and great Numbers also from the City; and hence, ensued a sharp Battle without the Walls, wherein the Citizens were worsted, and beaten back, and the City itself was on the point of being taken; for they were too careless in their Watch, and two Towers, with the whole intermediate Space, being already thrown down, would have offered an easy Entrance to the Besiegers, had their whole Army attempted it. Besides this, another Tower which stood next, being shaken with their Engines, had certainly fallen, if it had been undermin'd; and this the Townsmen were not ignorant of; wherefore,

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preparing for the worst, they built another Wall of Brick, of a semicircular Form, within, in the room of that which was fallen down; and this they finish'd with no great Difficulty, because of the vast number of Hands employ'd in the Work. When *Alexander* endeavour'd to batter this Wall, the next Day, the Besieged suddenly sallied forth, with a Design to set fire to his Engines, and some of the Sheds which stood nearest, and part of one of the wooden Towers were consumed, but the rest were saved by *Philotas* and *Helanicus*, to whom the Charge of them was committed. But as soon as they who had made this Excursion saw *Alexander*, they cast away their Torches, and many of them also threw down their Arms, and fled into the City: And as the Place, where they then stood, was commodious, being mounted upon an Eminence, they had the Advantage; for they not only directed their Weapons right forwards against the Engineers, but from the Towers at each End of the ruin'd Wall, they gall'd those who assaulted the new-built one, on each Side, so that no Part of them, except their Backs, remain'd unexposed.



## C H A P. XXIII.

NOT long after this, when *Alexander* again apply'd his Engines to batter the inner brick Wall, and himself was present to forward the Work, the Besieged, partly from the Breach now made, and partly from the Gate *Tripylus*, where the Besiegers least expected them, issued out suddenly upon the *Macedonians*; some bringing burning Brands, which they apply'd to the Engines, and others combustible Matter, to increase the Flames: But the  
*Macedo-*

*Macedonians* attacking them vigorously, and casting huge Stones and Darts among them, from their wooden Towers, they were soon put to Flight, and beat back into the City: And by how much the greater were the Numbers, and the more obstinate the Fight, by so much the greater was the Slaughter of the Besieged. For some of them were slain, valiantly fighting Hand to Hand: Others were kill'd in Flight, near the Ruins of the Wall, because the Breach was too narrow to afford Entrance for such a Multitude, and the Ascent thro' it, was too steep and rugged. Those too who sallied forth by way of the Gate *Tripylus*, were attack'd by *Ptolemy*, one of the King's Body Guards, at the Head of *Addæus*' and *Timander*'s Troops, and some other light-arm'd Soldiers, who easily put them to Flight. But a dreadful Accident then befel them; for as they endeavoured to make their Escape over a narrow Bridge which they had laid over the Ditch,

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius*, in his Supplement to *Curtius*, lib. ii. cap. 10. tells us, that this was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, and quotes two Passages in *Arrian*, to prove his Assertion; the first is Chap. 25. the second points to this Place, as if they both related to the same Person. The first, Chap. 25. runs plainly thus; Τὴν Σωκράτους Ἰλὴν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλίππου ἀγόντα. That this was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip*, is indisputable; and that This was another Person different from him, is as certain. Three *Ptolemys* are mentioned by *Arrian*, who had all the Honour of being the King's Body Guards. The first was *Ptolemy* the Son of *Seleucus*, mentioned Lib. i. Cap. 25. and again Cap. 30. and once more Lib. ii. Cap. 12. where there is an account of his being slain at the Battle of *Issus*. The second is the *Ptolemy* we now treat of, who died in this Siege. The third is *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*. That *Ptolemy* the Son of *Philip* was the same whom *Alexander* appointed President of *Caria*, and who overthrew *Orontobates*, is evident from *Arrian*, Lib. ii. Cap. 5. from whence we may rationally infer, that he could not be kill'd here, and come to Life again so long afterwards. It had therefore been *Freinshemius*'s best, as well as safest way, not to have presumed to comment upon *Arrian*'s Words; for tho' I am not certain whose Son this *Ptolemy* was, yet I am assured, he was not the Son of *Philip*. See *Gronovius*'s Notes on this Chap.

the Bridge broke by the vast Weight of the Multitudes upon it, so that some fell headlong into the Ditch, some were trampled to Death by their own Party, and others slain by the *Macedonian* Darts from above. A great Slaughter of the Besieged was also made at the Gates, which had been too hastily and unseasonably shut up; for the Inhabitants, fearing lest the *Macedonians* should enter the City with their own Men, shut many of them out, who were every one cut off by the Enemy under the Walls. And at this time the City had been taken, had not *Alexander* caused a Retreat to be sounded, (for he was desirous of saving it) to try if, by any means, the *Halicarnassæans* would yet deliver it into his Hands. Of the Citizens, near a Thousand were slain in that Conflict; of the *Macedonians*, near Forty, among whom was *Ptolemy*, one of the King's Body Guards, *Clearchus* Captain of a Troop of Archers, and *Addæus*, who had the Command of a Thousand Foot, besides many others of no mean Account.



## C H A P. XXIV.

AFTER this, *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the rest of the *Persian* Commanders, considering that they could not now hold the Town long, because part of their Walls was already beat down, and part shaken and ready to fall, and many of the Defendants either cut off, in the several Encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unserviceable, and having weighed the Matter deliberately, about the second Watch of the Night set fire to the wooden Tower which they had built to guard them from the Shocks of the Enemies Engines,

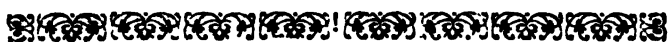
gines, and to the Arsenal where their Artillery was lodg'd, as also to some Houses near the Wall, which last blazed out with much Fury, because the Wind setting that way, many Flakes of Fire were driven from the Tower and Arsenal thither. Hereupon, some of the Townsmen betook themselves to a Castle in an Island, and others to another Castle call'd *Salmacis*. Which, when *Alexander* was inform'd of, by some Deserters, and when he beheld the raging Flames, tho' it was near Midnight, he nevertheless detach'd a Body of *Macedonians* thither, with Orders to slay those who set fire to the City, but to spare whomsoever they found in their Habitations. As soon as it was Day-light, *Alexander*, viewing the Castles which the *Persians* and their mercenary Troops had seiz'd, resolv'd not to lay Siege to them, as well because the reducing them, considering their Situation, would take up too much Time, as because they would not be of any great Importance, after he had reduced the City: Wherefore,

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<sup>1</sup> *Arrian* makes mention here, of two Castles, or Places of Strength and Security, whither the Townsmen retired: One was in an Island, which he names not; the other was called *Salmacis*. But *Freinsheimius* has made them three, and quotes *Diodorus* and *Arrian*. See his Suppl. Book ii. Chap. 11. He places one of his Castles in the obscure Island abovementioned; a second he names *Salmacis*; and tells us of a third in the Island *Cos*, which last he had from *Diodorus*. However, *Diodorus* mentions but two, any more than *Arrian*, only he gives us their Names different; for he calls the one *Ἀνεγώτας*, or a Castle seated on an Eminence in the City: the other, he says, was *ἐν τῇ Κῶν*. That there were not two Castles in the City, *Strabo* assures us, Book xiv. and *Vitruvius*, Book ii. Chap. 8. and that there were not two on the obscure Island, is evident from *Arrian*. I am therefore of Opinion, he had much better have forborn bringing in *Diodorus*, to supply *Arrian's* Deficiencies. And besides, the Island *Cos*, tho' not far from *Halicarnassus*, was not however so near, as that *Alexander* could view the Situation thereof from thence, the next Morning, at Day-break, as *Arrian* assures us he did, and judge it too strong for him to reduce without a formal Siege. Vide *Gronov. ad Arrian*.

taking Care to inter those who fell in the last Conflict by Night, he commanded his Engineers to convey the Artillery to *Tralles*, which City he laid level with the Ground; and marching thence into *Pbrygia*, left a Body of Three thousand Foot, and Two hundred Horse, under the Command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the Country of *Caria* in Obedience; for he had, before this Time, appointed *Ada* to be Governess of *Caria*. She was the Daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and Sister to *Hildricus*, and nevertheless was his Wife, according to the *Carian* Laws. *Hildricus* dying, left the Administration of Affairs in her Hands; for it had been an antient Custom among the *Asiatics*, ever since the Time of *Semiramis*, that the Widow should reign after her Husband's Decease. She was dethroned by *Pexodorus*, who usurp'd the Sovereignty; but he dying, *Orontobates*, his Son-in-Law, was sent thither by *Darius*, to take Possession of the Kingdom. *Ada* held only one City in Obedience, but that was the strongest in her Territories, and named *Alinda*. She went forth to meet *Alexander*, who was marching with his Army thither, and delivering her City into his Hands, adopted him her Son. *Alexander*, neither despising her Liberality, nor disdaining the Title of Son, which she had conferr'd upon him, left the City in her Custody; and after he had demolished *Halicarnassus*, and reduced all *Caria*, honour'd her with the Government of the whole Province.





C H A P. XXV.

SOME of the *Macedonian* Soldiers who served under *Alexander*, having married Wives, a little while before he undertook this Expedition, he deem'd their Case not unworthy his Consideration; wherefore dismissing them at *Caria*, he gave them Leave to return into *Macedonia*, and spend the Winter with their Wives; *Ptolemy* the Son of *Seleucus*, one of his Body Guards, being appointed their Lieutenant. *Cænus* also, the Son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the Son of *Neoptolemus*, (who had newly married Wives) were join'd in Commission with him. Their Orders were, that, at their Return, they should bring back those he had then dismiss'd, and with them, as many Recruits of Horse and Foot as could be raised in the Country. And this single Act of *Alexander's* endear'd him as much to the *Macedonians*, as any other throughout his whole Reign. He also, about this Time, dispatch'd *Cleander* the Son of *Polemocrates* to levy Soldiers in *Peloponnesus*, and *Parmenio*, on whom he had conferr'd the Command of the Royal Cohort, upon the same Account to *Sardis*; he also order'd him to convey the *Thessalian* Horse, and other Auxiliaries, and the Waggons, with him from *Sardis* into *Phrygia*. He, in the mean time, directed his March thro' *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, with a Design to reduce

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, p. 10. *Ed. Steph.* that *Alexander* was somewhat unsettled in his Resolutions, at first, whether he should march directly forwards, and fight *Darius* where-ever he could find him, or endeavour to reduce all the Sea-coasts, and render the Enemies Fleet useless; but while he was deliberating what Course to take,

the Sea-coasts, and by that means render the Enemies Fleet useless: And accordingly, at his first setting out, *Hyparna*, a Town well fortified, and furnished with a good Garrison of mercenary Troops, surrendered at his Approach; and the Foreigners who held the Castle, having received Terms, were suffered to depart. Thence, hasting into *Lycia* with his Army, he easily gain'd the *Telmisseans*; and passing the River *Xanthus*, had the Cities of *Xanthus*, *Pinara*, *Patara*, and about Thirty more, surrendered to him. These Things so happily accomplish'd, he march'd, in the very Depth of Winter, to *Mylias*, a Province so named, which properly belonged to *Pbrygia* the Greater, but by *Darius's* Command, was contributory to *Lycia*. Hither came the Embassadors of the *Phaselitæ*, who requested his Friendship, and presented him with a Crown of Gold; and hither also, not a few of the Cities of Lower *Lycia* sent Embassadors to him, and entered into Amity with him. He thereupon ordered them to deliver up their Cities to those whom he dispatch'd thither for that purpose; which was accordingly perform'd. He then pass'd into the Province of *Phaselis*, which he reduced, as also a certain Fort, which the *Pisidians* had built there, from whence the Barbarians, by frequent Incursions, had harass'd the Country round about.

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a Fountain, or Rivulet, near the City *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, overflowing its Banks, threw up a Copper-Plate, whereon was engraved, in ancient Characters, "That the Time was come, when the *Persian* Empire should be subverted by the *Grecians*." — This was, without doubt, a Device to animate the Soldiery. Its being wrote in antique Characters, was no Sign of its being really antient; for we have an hundred Engravers, now living, who will imitate any Characters, that ever were seen, so as hardly to be distinguished. However, it seems, the Characters were not so very antique, but those who were appointed for that Purpose, could pick out their Meaning: and to me, it is no great Wonder they should; for it is very probable, they who contrived them were set to work to interpret them.





C H A P. XXVI.

WHILE the King was in that Country, he received Information, that *Alexander* the Son of *Aeropus*, one of his Friends, to whom he had given the Command of the *Thessalian* Horse, had conspired his Death. This *Alexander* was Brother to *Heromenes* and *Arrabæus*, who had been privy to the Death of *Philip*; and he himself had some Share therein; however, as he applied to him among the first, after *Philip's* Decease, and accompanied him arm'd to his Palace, he pardoned him, and afterwards heap'd many Honours upon him; for he gave him the Command of the Forces which he sent into *Thrace*, and *Calas* Captain of the *Thracian* Horse being dispatch'd to his Government, he had that Post conferr'd on him. This Conspiracy is said to have been thus discover'd: After *Amyntas* had fled to *Darius*, and had carried him Letters, and Orders, from this *Alexander*, he dispatch'd *Asifines*, a *Persian*, much in Favour and Credit, to the Sea-coast, under pretence of an Embassy to *Aitzyes* Governor of *Pbrygia*, but, in reality, to meet this *Alexander*, and withal to assure him, that if he would murder the King, he should have the Kingdom of *Macedonia* conferr'd upon him, besides a Gratuity of a Thousand Talents of Silver. But *Asifines* being seized and examined by *Parmenio*,

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<sup>1</sup> This *Alexander* is sometimes call'd the Son of *Aeropus*, and sometimes *Alexander Lyncestes*, by *Freinshemius*; the first Name he gives him from *Arrian*, and the latter, which was the Name of his Country, in Complaisance to *Curtius* and *Diodorus*. However, it was the same Person.

related the true Cause of his Embassy; upon which account, he was sent under a strong Guard, to the King, that he might make the same Confession there. The King having then call'd his Council together, advis'd with them, what was best to be done: They all unanimously gave it as their Opinion, that he had trusted the best Part of his Horse in unfaithful Hands, and therefore it was necessary to dispatch him speedily out of the way, before he became so gracious among them, as; by their means, to be able to raise any Insurrection. A Prodigy, which was said to have happen'd at that Time, struck them with no small Fear; for whilst the King, who then lay encamp'd before *Halicarnassus*, was fast asleep, at Mid-day, a <sup>2</sup> Swallow making a great Noise, is said to have hover'd over his Head, and to have rested, sometimes on one Side of the Bed, and sometimes on the other, and to have been more noisy and troublesome than usual. He had been exceedingly fatigued, and was not easily awaked; but when her incessant chattering rous'd him from Sleep, he put her away gently with his Hand, notwith-

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\* Every Man to his own Trade. Where there are Priests, there will be Prodigies. The Seeds of Superstition, sown by such industrious Hands, sprout up into a plentiful Harvest. The most common and ordinary Occurrences in Nature, by such dexterous Managers, become uncommon and extraordinary. A poor, harmless Hare crossing a Man's Way, a Raven croaking, an Owl staring him in the Face, or a Swallow chattering over his Head, shall be deem'd fatal Omens. Here a poor Swallow fell a chattering so loud, that she waked *Alexander* out of his Sleep. I can see no mighty Matter in all this. Had she with an audible Voice chanted out a Hymn to *Jupiter Conservator*, till she had waked him, and then spoke articulately, and told him plainly, that a certain Name-sake of his was going to knock out his Brains, it had been worthy his Notice. However, as it was, the King heard the Noise, and the Priest was to expound its Meaning: and truly, because the Swallow was a domestick Bird, a domestick Conspiracy was portended; and because she was a loquacious Bird, the Conspiracy would be discovered. Who, that had not been skill'd in the Language of Birds, could have given so profound an Answer?

standing

standing which, she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perch'd upon his Head, and ceased not her Noise till the King was thoroughly awake. This Prodigy being deem'd of too great Moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with *Aristander* the *Telmissean* Soothsayer, who assured him, that a Conspiracy was form'd against his Life by one of his Domesticks, but that it would be brought to Light, because the Swallow was a domestick Bird, and most exceedingly loquacious. He therefore comparing the Soothsayer's Answer with the Confession of *Asifines*, dispatch'd *Amphoterus* the Son of *Alexander*, and *Craterus* his Brother, immediately to *Parmenio*, attended by some *Pergeans*, as Guides. *Amphoterus* having put on the Country Habit, to prevent Suspicion on the Road, came secretly to *Parmenio*; and as he had brought no Letters from the King, (the Matter being thought not proper to be committed to Writing) he delivered his Message by Word of Mouth: Whereupon *Alexander* was there seiz'd, and committed to safe Custody.



C H A P. XXVII.

THE King then moving from *Pbaselis*, dispatch'd part of his Army thro' the mountainous Country to *Perga* by a nigher, tho' a much more difficult Way, shew'd them by the *Thracians*, while

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<sup>1</sup> It may be thought strange, that the *Thracians* should be chosen as Guides in a Country so far distant from their own; but the Reader must understand, that there were two Countries of that Name; the one *Thrace* in *Europe*, the other *Thracia Bithynia* in *Asia*, which last was not far distant. Besides, perhaps there may be

while he led the rest along the Sea-coast. But this last Road <sup>2</sup> is always impassable, except when the North Winds blow; but then, after the most raging South Wind had held a long Time, the North Winds begun, and, by the Interposition of some divine Power, as he and his Followers declared, they obtained a safe and easy Passage. When he had pass'd thro' *Perga*, he was met, on his Way, by the Embassadors of the *Aspendians*, who promised to surrender their City into his Hands, but intreated him not to impose a Garrison upon them. Their Request was granted, on Condition they would raise Fifty Talents, to pay his Soldiers, and give him the Tribute of Horses, they had hitherto given to *Darius*. These Terms being agreed to by the Embassadors, they departed. *Alexander* then march'd to *Sidæ*, the Inhabitants of which City were originally *Cumæans*, from *Cuma* in *Æolia*, and give this strange Account of their Original. Their Ancestors, they say, who left *Cuma*, and betook themselves to this Country, no sooner set Foot on Shore, but they forgot their Native Language, and begun to utter their Minds to each other, in a strange Tongue, which, nevertheless, had no Affinity with the *Bar-*

be a Fault in the Original; for *Gronovius* tells us, that in no fewer than three Manuscript Copies of *Arrian*, it was not wrote Θέξιν, but Κᾶξιν, which may perhaps be a Corruption from Κᾶρξ; and it is certain, *Caria* was just in the Neighbourhood. *Vide Gronov. ad locum.*

<sup>2</sup> *Arrian* here tells us, that some divine Power must have directed *Alexander* in his Passage; but *Raderus*, one of the Commentators on *Curtius*, goes further, and acquaints us, that the *Pamphylian* Sea fled back to make Way for *Alexander*, in the same manner as the *Red Sea* for the Children of *Israel*. *Arrian* assigns a probable Reason for his Assertion, namely, that the violent North-Winds which then blew, had forced the Sea back, and left the Shores dry. However, *Plutarch* assures us, that *Alexander*, in his Epistles, mentions nothing unusual in it at all; but only says, he departed from *Phaselis*, and march'd through the Straights call'd the *Ladders*. *Vide Plutarch. in vita Alexand. p. 1235, & 1236.*

*barians*

*barians* their Neighbours, but was proper, and peculiar to themselves, and altogether unknown before: From that Time therefore, the *Siditæ* had a Language different from all the Nations round them. *Alexander* having left a Garrison in that City, directed his March to *Syllius*, a Place well fortified, and strengthened not only with a Garrison of foreign Mercenaries, but a great Number of stout Inhabitants; so that it could not be taken by a sudden Assault. And now he received Intelligence, that the *Aspendians* refused to perform their late Covenants, and would neither deliver the Horses to those who were sent thither to receive them, nor pay the Money; but, on the contrary, having convey'd all their Cattle out of the Fields, into the City, shut their Gates against his Messengers, and fell to repairing their Walls, where-ever they were gone to Decay: Whereupon he return'd suddenly, and encamp'd with his Army near *Aspendus*.



C H A P. XXVIII.

THE City of *Aspendus* is seated chiefly upon a high and steep Rock, the Foot of which is wash'd by the River *Eurymedon*; but round the Rock, upon the Plain, are abundance of Houses, furrounded with a slight Wall. As soon as *Alexander* approach'd, the Inhabitants of the lower Town, distrusting their Safety there, fled, and betook themselves to the higher Town, or Castle; which, when he perceived, he entered the lower Town with his Army, and encamp'd within the Walls. The Besieged seeing *Alexander's* Force, and themselves hemm'd in, on every Side, contrary to their Expectations, sent Messengers to intreat him to accept of the

the former Conditions. *Alexander* considering the Strength of the Place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long Siege, was willing to agree with them, tho' not upon the former Terms, but insisted now, that their principal Citizens should be delivered up as Hostages; that the Number of Horses which they had before promised, should be punctually delivered, and the Number of Talents doubled; and moreover, that they should be under the Command of such a Garrison, as he should place over them, and pay an annual Tribute to the *Macedonians*; and lastly, that the Cause concerning the Fields, which they were said to have wrested unjustly out of their Neighbours Hands, should be refer'd to Arbitration. All these Conditions being agreed to, he march'd from thence to *Perge*, and thence led his Army into *Phrygia*; and his Way obliging him, he pass'd by *Telmessus*, the Inhabitants of which Place are Barbarians, a Colony of *Pisidia*. The City is seated on a high Mountain, steep and rugged on every Side, so that the Passage up to it is difficult and dangerous; for the Mountain extends itself from the City, to the very Road, and another Mountain rises over against it, equally inaccessible, so that the Pass is extremely narrow, and by a small Party might be entirely block'd up. The *Telmisseans* had posted their Forces upon both these Hills; which *Alexander* perceiving, ordered his *Macedonians* to pitch their Tents as near their Enemies as possible; imagining, that the *Telmisseans* would not long continue their Stations there, when they came to see his

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\* The Description of these Hills is not unlike those of the *Pyle Caspie*, mentioned by *Pliny*, lib. vi. cap. 14. The Reason, says he, why they obtained the Name of *Pyle*, or Gates, is, because two Mountains are separated from each other, by a Pass, so very narrow, that there is scarce room for single Carriages; and the Rocks hanging over Head on each Side, appear as if they had been scorched with Fire.

Army encamp'd, but that the greatest Part of them would retire into the City, and leave only a slight Guard there. And the Event shew'd, that he was not deceived in his Judgment; for a small Party was left to guard the Hills, and their whole Force besides, hasted into the City; *Alexander* then immediately leading on his Archers and Darters, and light-arm'd Soldiers, attack'd the Guard; whereupon the *Telmisseans*, unable to endure the Shock, betook themselves to Flight, and abandoned the Mountain.



C H A P. XXIX.

ALEXANDER having made himself Master of the Pass, encamp'd before the City; and thither came to him the Embassadors of the *Selgeæ*. They are also a Colony of the *Pisidians*, inhabit a populous City, and are a warlike People; and being antient Enemies to the *Telmisseans*, they had dispatch'd this Embassy to *Alexander*, requesting his Friendship. Their Request being granted, he afterwards made use of them, as faithful and valiant Soldiers. The Siege of the City of *Tekmiffus* was look'd upon as an Undertaking which would require too much Time; wherefore he decamp'd from before it, and march'd to *Salagassus*. This was also a large

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\* There is a prodigious Difference in Authors, concerning the true Name of this City: A certain old Coin of *M. Aurelius*, has these Letters inscribed upon it, *γαλααῶν*; the former Part of the Inscription being obliterated. Whereupon *Robert Stephens* assures us, that *Salagassus* is erroneous. Many have followed this Correction, tho' they have been somewhat dubious of its Validity. Even *Freinshemius* himself has chosen it, tho' all the Copies of *Arrian*, from whence he borrowed the whole Story, are against him. *Strabo* and

large City of the *Pisidians*; and notwithstanding all the *Pisidians* were deem'd warlike People, yet these were always counted the chief. There was a Hill which overlook'd their City, and which they imagining of no less Importance than their Walls, from whence to annoy their Enemies, they seiz'd it; whereupon *Alexander* immediately divided his Army into two Bodies. On the Right Wing, where himself commanded in Chief, were the Targeteers in Front; next these, the Royal Cohort of Foot, extending even to the other Wing, according as the particular Orders for drawing up the Army were given out that Day. The Left Wing was commanded by *Amyntas* the Son of *Arrabæus*. On the Right Wing were placed the <sup>2</sup> Archers and *Agrians*; on the Left the *Thracian* Darters, headed by *Sitalces*. As to the Horse, they were altogether unserviceable, in a Place so rugged and mountainous. The *Telmisseans* moreover, came to the Aid of these Citizens, and strengthen'd their Force. And now *Alexander's* Army approaching the Hill, which the *Pisidians* had fortified, and attempting to ascend it, in Places extremely steep, the Barbarians suddenly rush'd upon both Wings from an Ambuscade; for all the Passages round the Hill were well known, and familiar to them, but rugged and dangerous to the Assaultants. The Archers, who led the Van, being light-arm'd, were hereupon put to Flight; but the *Agrians* stood their Ground, for the *Macedonian* Phalanx was at hand, with *Alexander* at their Head.

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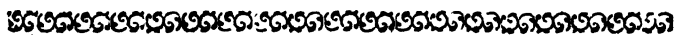
and *Stephanus* write it Σαλαγάρδς, which approaches much nearer *Salagassus*, than the other; for which Reason, *Gronovius* has thought fit to retain the old Name; and so shall I too, unless I could see better Authority for an Alteration. Vide *Gronov. ad Arrian.*

<sup>2</sup> Τοξότας. This Word *Freinshemius* has interpreted, *Velites*, or light-arm'd Men: A Word too general. And this is, says *Gronovius*, like his Master *Curtius*, to Latinize a Greek Author, as if he were mad. *Arrian* calls them plainly, Τοξότας ἀκραιβῶς ὀπλισμέναι; Archers light-arm'd. See *Gronovius's* Notes to *Arrian*, Chap. 29.

However,



However, when they came to a close Fight, and the naked Barbarians were to encounter with the arm'd *Macedonians*, they were slain and wounded in great Numbers; and the remainder turn'd their Backs and fled. There fell of the Citizens that Day about Five hundred. But many being light-arm'd, and thoroughly acquainted with the Place, easily escaped by Flight: whereas the *Macedonians*, by reason of the Weight of their Armour, and their Ignorance of the Country, durst not pretend to pursue them. However, *Alexander* being victorious here, immediately attack'd the City, and took it by Storm. In this Siege *Cleander*, one of his Captains, was slain, and about twenty Soldiers. He then march'd against other Places in *Pisidia*, and took some of their strong Holds by Force, whilst others were surrender'd upon Articles.



C H A P. XXX.

AFTER this, he hasted into *Phrygia*, and passed by the Lake *Ascania*, where Salt is naturally concreted, which the Inhabitants of that Country use instead of the common Salt made from Sea-water. On the fifth Day after, he pitch'd his Tents before <sup>1</sup> *Celæne*, in which City was a Castle seated on an Eminence, and every way well fortified.

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<sup>1</sup> Thus far *Freinshemius*, the best, as well as most learned Commentator, that *Curtius* ever had. We now enter upon *Curtius's* own Work; and this begins his Third Book. He introduces it with a long Description of the River *Marfyas*, which is nothing at all to his purpose, and in which he has committed a brace of Blunders. Descriptions of Rivers, Mountains, Towns, and Countries, unless of absolute Necessity, are so far from being of Advan-

fied. This was garrison'd with a Thousand *Carians*, and an Hundred *Grecian* Mercenaries, under the Command of a *Phrygian* Nobleman. These dispatch'd 2 Embassadors to acquaint *Alexander*, that if they received no Succours within a certain limited Time, by them mentioned, they would surrender the Fort into his Hands. Which Conditions He (judging much more convenient for him, than to undertake a difficult and hazardous Siege against a Castle almost impregnable) thought fit to accept: and the Succours not arriving at the Time, the City and Castle were delivered up. *Alexander* put therein a Garrison of One thousand five hundred Soldiers, and rested there ten Days. He then, having appointed *Antigonus* the Son of *Philip* Governor of *Phrygia*, and *Balacrus* the Son of *Amyntas* Præfect of the auxiliary Forces in his stead, directed his March to *Gordium*; and wrote Letters to *Parmenio*, to meet him there, with the Troops under his Command; which he accordingly did. The *Macedonians* who had been sent home to visit their new Wives, came also to *Gordium*, and with them some Recruits which *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*, *Cænus* the Son of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the Son of *Neop-*

tage to an History, that they serve only to confound the Reader, and divert him from the main Story; and besides, they are the Province of Geographers, not Historians. But to proceed: he tells us, *lib. iii. cap. 1, 3. Edit. Varior.* that the River *Marfyas* spreads itself, and waters all the Fields about, without receiving any Addition of other Waters. — This is true as to the River *Orgas*, wherewith he confounds it, but false as to the other. Secondly, he acquaints us, that after *Marfyas* has run thro' *Cellena*, it is call'd *Lycus*. This is false; for *Lycus* is a quite different River, and passes by *Laodicea*. See more of this, in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 1, 6, 7, 8.* and in *Snakenburgh's Curtius, p. 52, 53.* tells us, that *Alexander* sent a Summons to the Citizens, who took the Messenger into the Castle, and acquainted him, how well able they were to sustain a Siege. However, he says, they afterwards desired a Truce for sixty Days.

*tolemus,*

tolemus, had raised. These Recruits consisted of a Thousand *Macedonian* Foot, and Three hundred Horse; Two hundred *Thessalian* Horse, and an Hundred and fifty *Eleans*, commanded by *Alcias* the *Elean*. The City *Gordium* is seated in *Phrygia*, nigh the *Hellepont*, upon the River *Sangarius*. This River has its Rise in *Phrygia*, whence flowing thro' the *Bithynian Thrace*, it falls at last into the *Euxine* Sea. <sup>3</sup> Hither the *Athenians* sent their Embassadors to *Alexander*, beseeching him to release such of their Citizens as had been taken fighting for the *Persians*, at the River *Granicus*, and were then, with Two thousand others, kept Prisoners in *Macedonia*. But they return'd without obtaining their Request; for He did not think it adviseable, whilst the *Persian* War yet continued, to remove that Dread from the *Greeks*, who durst attempt to take up Arms for Barbarians, against their own Countrymen: wherefore he dispatch'd them with this Answer, That whenever the <sup>4</sup> *Persian* War was finish'd to his Wishes, they might then send their Embassadors, to solicit for the Freedom of their Citizens.

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* acquaints us, that these Embassadors met *Alexander* at *Cellena*, lib. iii. cap. 1, 9.

<sup>4</sup> This *Alexander* did to keep the *Grecian* States in Awe, till he had finished the *Persian* War, by detaining so many of their Citizens as Hostages.





*A R R I A N*'s  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
ALEXANDER'S Expedition.

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B O O K II.

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C H A P. I.



IN the mean time, <sup>1</sup> *Memnon*, whom King *Darius* had constituted Admiral of his whole Fleet, designing to move the Seat of War into Greece, had the Island <sup>2</sup> *Chios* deliver'd to him, by Treachery: Whence, hoisting Sail for *Lesbos*, and having reduced all the Towns upon that Island, except

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<sup>1</sup> *Memnon* the *Rhodian*, was the best General, both by Sea and Land, that *Darius* ever had, and whom, by reason of his unwearied Industry, and exact Knowledge in Military Affairs, *Alexander* chiefly feared. An Account of his Acts may be seen in *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. He it was, who took the Islands *Lesbos*, *Chios*; and *Cos*, and garrison'd them with *Persians*: But while he was endeavouring to transfer the War into *Macedonia*, he was seiz'd with a pestilential Disease, and died, and with him the good Fortune of the *Persians*. Vide *Diod. Sic. Bib. lib. xvii. p. 509.*

<sup>2</sup> *Chios* is now called *Scio*; *Lesbos*, *Metelino*; and *Cos*, *Lango*. These three are noble Islands in the *Ægean* Sea, near the *Asiatic* Shore.

cept *Mitylene*, which declared for *Alexander*, he appear'd before it; and (as that City is seated on a Promontory) cut off its Communication with the Island, by a double Wall, fortified with five Castles, and drawn across the Neck of Land, from Sea to Sea; whereby he prevented its receiving any Succours by Land: and with one part of his Fleet he kept Possession of the Harbour, and order'd the rest to cruize near *Sigrius*, a Promontory of *Lesbos*, where is a Road for Ships of Burden, sailing from *Cbios*, *Geræstus*, and *Malea*; by which means he obstructed all hopes of Supplies by Sea. About this Time he died; and his Death was a great Blow to *Darius's* Affairs: nevertheless, *Autophradates*, and <sup>3</sup> *Pharnabazus* the Son of *Artabazus*, to whom *Memnon*, at his Decease, had left the Navy in Charge, till *Darius* should have Leisure to consider the Matter, (for he was his Sister's Son) carried on the Siege with Vigour. The *Mitylenians* therefore, finding themselves distress'd, by Sea and Land, dispatch'd Embassadors to *Pharnabazus*, and agreed to surrender their City to the *Persians*, upon these Conditions; (*viz.*) That the foreign Auxiliaries sent them by *Alexander* should be suffered to depart peaceably: That the Tables whereon their League with *Alexander* was engraved, should be destroyed: That they should enter into a League with *Darius*, according to the Articles of Peace formerly made by *Antalcis*: That their Exiles should return, and have half their Effects restored them. These Terms being accepted, *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates* entered the City, and introduced a Garrison, com-

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Shore. They surrendered to *Alexander*, after the Battle of *Granicus*, but were again reduced by *Memnon*.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* has not so much as mentioned the Name of *Autophradates*, nor that of *Pharnabazus*, till afterwards; and indeed, he has curtail'd this Story so strangely, that it is a difficult matter to understand him.

manded by *Lycomedes* the *Rhodian*. The Civil Government of the City was, at the same time, committed into the Hands of *Diogenes*, one of their Exiles, and a huge Sum of Money extorted from them, one part thereof by a Tax on the wealthy Citizens, and the rest from the Multitude.



## C H A P. II.

**P**HARNABAZUS then set Sail for *Lycia*, carrying the foreign Auxiliaries abovementioned with him: And *Autophradates* had a Design upon some other Islands. In the mean while, *Darius* dispatch'd <sup>1</sup> *Thymondas* the Son of *Mentor* to *Pbarnabazus*, to take Care of the Mercenaries, and acquaint him, in his Name, that he was come to succeed his Father. *Pbarnabazus* having deliver'd up the Soldiers to *Thymondas*, immediately made Sail to join *Autophradates*. These, jointly, dispatch'd <sup>2</sup> *Datames* the *Persian* against the *Cyclades*, with ten Ships, whilst they, with a hundred, made ready to attack <sup>3</sup> *Tenedos*: They accordingly hasted thither, and entering the North Haven, dispatch'd a Message to the Inhabitants, commanding them immediately to destroy the Tables whereon their former Leagues, with *Alexander* and the *Greeks*, were engraved; and accept of Peace from *Darius*, on the same Terms which were granted them before

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Thymodes*. The Story of him, and his Father *Mentor*, a brave and valiant General, may be seen in *Rhinecius*, Tom. iii. of the *Rhodian* Commanders.

<sup>2</sup> The whole Story of *Datames* the *Persian*, is not any where taken notice of by *Curtius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tenedos* is a famous Island adjacent to the *Trojan* Shore, at the very Entrance of the *Hellepont*.

by *Antalcis*. The Islanders had indeed a much greater Affection for *Alexander*, and the *Greeks*; but (as their Affairs then stood) they run the risque of being destroy'd, unless they immediately condescended to accept the Terms imposed on them; because *Hegelochus*, whom *Alexander* had order'd to refit the Fleet, had not yet got so many Ships ready, as could give them any hopes of speedy Succour; for which Reason they were induced to a Compliance, rather out of Fear than Good-will. In the mean time, *Proteas* the Son of *Andronicus* (having gather'd together as many long Ships from *Eubœa* and *Peloponnesus*, by *Antipater's* Order, as at least to secure the *Grecian* Coasts and Islands from Insults of the Barbarians) upon Advice that *Datames*, with his ten Ships, had chosen the River *Syphnus* for his Station, sail'd with fifteen Ships to *Chalcis*, seated on the *Euripus*; and early the next Morning to the Island *Cytnus*, where he spent the rest of the Day in receiving more certain Information of the Place, where the Enemies Ships lay, and at the same time resolv'd to attack them by Night, that he might strike the *Phœnicians* with more Terror: and when he was fully assured, that the Enemy was at the Mouth of the River *Syphnus*, he sail'd thither by Night, and as the Dawn appeared, attack'd them furiously, when they least expected it, and soon made himself Master of eight of those Ships of Force. But *Datames*, with the other two, escaping, at the beginning of the Fight, made the best of his Way to the rest of the Fleet.





## C H A P. III.

AS soon as *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and had enter'd the Castle, wherein the Palace of *Gordius*, and his Son *Midas*, had stood, he discover'd his Ambition of seeing *Gordius's* Chariot, and the Knot which was reported to have been made in the Harness thereof; for strange Stories had been told concerning it, among the neighbouring Inhabitants. This <sup>1</sup> *Gordius*, as the Story goes, was a Man of slender Fortune among the antient *Phrygians*, who had a small Piece of Land, and two Yoke of Oxen, one of which he employ'd in the Plough, and the other in the Waggon; and that on a certain Day, while he was ploughing, an Eagle alighted upon the Yoke, and there rested till the Evening. He, terrified at the Sight, hastened to consult the *Telmissean* Augurs in that Case, (for the Art of Divination was common to all that People, even to the Women, and Children, so that it was, in a manner, hereditary) and when he arrived at a certain Village in that Country, he met a Virgin going to a Fountain, who foretold what should happen to him, and ordered him (as she was of the *Telmissean* Progeny) to return to his Field, and there offer Sacrifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius*, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what Manner the Sacrifice

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<sup>1</sup> The whole Story of *Gordius*, from *Arrian*, *Freinshemius* has inserted in his Notes, as an Explanation to *Curtius*, *lib. iii. c. 1, 14. Ed. Var.* for he trifles away so much Time in an unnecessary Description of the City *Gordium*, that he omits what would have been of much greater Use.

should



should be performed. He, thus instructed by the Virgin, took her to Wife, and she bore him a Son named *Midas*, who, when he arrived at Manhood, was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that Time harraſs'd with a cruel Sedition, and going to consult the Oracle, were told, that a Chariot should bring them a King, who should quell their Sedition. Whilst they were yet busy in offering their Conjectures about this Answer, *Midas* arrived, with his Father and Mother, and appear'd suddenly, in his Chariot, before the Council. They, hereupon, interpreting the Answer to relate to him, as the Man whom the God had told them should come thither in a Chariot, made him their King. Their Seditions he appeased, and consecrated his Father's Chariot to *Jupiter* the King, by hanging it up in his Palace, as an Offering of Thanks for the Eagle (the Bird of *Jupiter*) sent to his Father, by which he received the Kingdom. This was also reported concerning the Chariot, That whosoever could unty the Knot, whereby it hung, should obtain the Sovereignty over all *Asia*. The Cord in which this Knot was tied, was composed of the inner Rind of the Corneil Tree, and no Eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no possible Way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some Fears to arise in the Hearts of his Soldiers, is said <sup>2</sup> by some, to have cut the Cords with his Sword, and affirm'd that the Knot was untied. But *Aristobulus* assures us, that he wrested

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* is one of those who affirm, that *Alexander* cut the Cords with his Sword, *lib. iii. cap. 1, 18*. *Arrian* gives us both Stories, and leaves us at liberty to chuse for ourselves. The latter, as being delivered by one of *Alexander's* Followers, who was present, seems the more probable. *Plutarch* also, in his Account of the Life of *Alexander*, subscribes to this Opinion. *Vide Vis. Alex. Greece, p. 1236.*

a wooden Pin out of the Beam of the Waggon, which being driven in across the Beam, held it up, and so took the Yoke from it. How this Knot was loosed by *Alexander*, I dare not affirm; however, he and his Followers departed fully satisfied, as if the Prophecy concerning the Solution thereof had been fulfill'd: and the Thunder and Lightning, which happen'd the following Night, confirm'd their Opinion; for which Reason, the next Day, he offered Sacrifice to the Gods, who had assured him, by Prodigies, not only that the Oracle's Response was fully accomplished, but also that the *Gordian* Knot was truly untied.



## C H A P. IV.

**A**LEXANDER, the next Day, arrived at <sup>1</sup> *Ancyra*, a City of *Galatia*, whither Embassadors came to him from <sup>2</sup> *Paphlagonia*, requesting his Friendship, and promising to surrender their Province to him, on Condition that his Army should not enter their Borders: To which he agreed; and thereupon deputed *Calas*, President of *Phrygia*, their Governor. Thence marching into <sup>3</sup> *Cappadocia*, he subdued all the Country on this Side the River *Halys*, and a great Part beyond it; and hav-

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<sup>1</sup> *Raderus* has committed a Mistake here, by calling *Ancyra* a City of *Calabria*, instead of *Galatia*, unless it be an Error of the Press. See his Notes to *Curt. lib. iii. cap. i. Edit. Var.*

<sup>2</sup> *Paphlagonia* is bounded towards the South by *Galatia*, Westward by *Bithynia*, towards the North by the *Euxine* Sea, and Eastward by *Cappadocia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cappadocia* is bounded Westward by *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, on the South by *Cilicia*, on the East by *Euphrates*, and Northward by the *Euxine* Sea.

ing appointed <sup>4</sup> *Sabittas* to preside over *Cappadocia*, he proceeded to the Streights, which open into *Cilicia*: and when he approach'd the Place which is call'd the ' *Camp of Cyrus*, under whom *Xenophon* the famous Captain served, and saw those Streights already possess'd by a Party of stout Soldiers, leaving *Parmenio* there, with the heavy-arm'd Cohorts of Foot, He, in the first Watch of the Night, march'd with his Targeteers, and Archers and *Agrians*, to the <sup>6</sup> Streights, with a Design to surprize the Enemy. But tho' he could not attack them unprepared, as he intended, yet the very Attempt gain'd him his End; for the Enemy appointed to guard the Pass, being inform'd of his Approach, quitted their Posts and fled. The next Morning therefore, having pass'd these Streights with his whole Army, he descended into *Cilicia*. Here, he received Information, that <sup>7</sup> *Arfames*, whom *Darius* had

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<sup>4</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 4. Edit. Var. calls him *Abistamanes*, tho' *Freinshemius* assures us, some Copies have it *Histamenes*, and *Aldus's* Edition *Aristamenes*; from whence we may easily gather, that there must be an Error. However he says, *Arrian* calls him *Sabittas*, which Name he allows to be just.

<sup>5</sup> *Curtius* and *Arrian* differ here: *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 4. says, this Camp was so call'd from *Cyrus* the Greater, who took *Cræsus*. *Arrian* affirms, it received its Name from *Cyrus* the Less. *Cyrus* the Greater never march'd this Way against *Cræsus*; but the Lesser *Cyrus* march'd from *Cappadocia* to *Cilicia*, and before he pass'd those Streights, which *Alexander* here entered, pitch'd his Tents upon the Plain, as is mentioned by *Xenophon* in his *Ἀναβάσει*, lib. i. This Camp *Strabo*, lib. xii. assures us, was distant from the Streights of *Cilicia* about fifty Furlongs.

<sup>6</sup> The Country of *Cilicia* has three memorable Streights, or Passes, the first whereof is so very narrow, that it is called *The Gate*: The second is called the Streights of *Amanus*, and give an Entrance into *Armenia*: The third is near the Bay of *Issus*. *Cilicia* is bounded Westward by *Pamphylia*, Eastward by *Syria*, Southward by the Bay of *Issus*, and Northward by *Cappadocia*.

<sup>7</sup> This *Arfames* was but a scurvy Politician, according to all Accounts, tho' I am apt to believe *Curtius* belies him, and makes him appear worse than he really was. He says, lib. iii. cap. 4. ' That

had made Governor of *Tarsus*, hearing he had pass'd the Streights, had resolv'd to abandon the City, and that the Citizens were afraid he would first plunder it; upon which, taking with him his Horse, and light-arm'd Foot, he us'd his utmost Endeavours to arrive there in Time, to save it. But when *Arfames* was assured of his coming, he immediately fled to King *Darius*, leaving the City unhurt. Here *Alexander*, according to *Aristobulus's* Account, fell into a Fit of Sickness, by the too excessive Toils he underwent; tho' other Authors tell us, that while he was sweating vehemently, with the Heat of his Journey, he cast himself into the River *Cydnus*, which runs thro' the City, with a Design to refresh himself by swimming. This River arising from the Mountain *Taurus*, flows along a fine Country, by which means its Waters are extreamly pure, and excessively cold. And hence *Alexander* was seiz'd with Pains in the Nerves, accompanied with a sharp Fever, and a continual waking, insomuch that when all the rest of his Physicians despaired of his Life, *Philip the Acarnanian*,

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" That he was Governor of *Cilicia*, and being present at the Battle  
 " of *Granicus*, and hearing *Memnon's* Advice to lay the Country  
 " waste, and thereby stop *Alexander's* further Progress, was resolv'd  
 " to put it in Execution in his Province, and did so, laying all *Ci-*  
 " *licia* waste with Fire and Sword, in such a Manner, as to leave  
 " nothing but the bare Ground for the Enemy, &c." He after-  
 " wards tells us, " He set fire to *Tarsus*, lest such a rich City should  
 " fall into the Enemies Hands, &c." — A great part of this is  
 " hardly credible; for in the first place, had he laid all the Country  
 " waste, it must have given *Alexander* a great deal of Trouble, to  
 " provide Forage, and Necessaries for his Army, in his Passage thro'  
 " it, which we no where find it did. And secondly, *Arrian* as-  
 " sures us, that *Tarsus*, the capital City, was not so much as touch'd,  
 " when *Alexander* enter'd it, only the Citizens were afraid of being  
 " plunder'd by the *Persians*, when they abandoned it; and therefore,  
 " in all probability, they dispatch'd some Messengers to him, to in-  
 " treat him to hasten his March thither, and save them. This *Ar-*  
*fames* is call'd *Arfanes* by *Curtius*; but he was a sorry Commander,  
 and any Name was good enough for him.

in whose extraordinary Skill in Physick, he had great Confidence, because of his Success in the Camp, was ordered to administer a Draught to him. After these Orders were given, while he was preparing the Cup, came a Letter from <sup>s</sup> *Parmenio* to *Alexander*, warning him to beware of *Philip*, for that he had heard, how *Philip* had been bribed by *Darius* to poison him. *Alexander* having read the Letter, took the Cup, wherein was the Potion, in his Hand, and gave *Philip* the Letter to read; and, while He was reading, he drunk up the Draught; the Physician shewing, by the Composure of his Countenance, that the Medicine was inoffensive, and by his Intrepidity on perusing the Letter, that he was not conscious of any Crime, that he had been guilty of, only intreated *Alexander* to acquiesce in his Advice, in what he should prescribe for the future; which if he did, he would recover his Health. After his Disease had left him, he declared his Esteem for *Philip*, by assuring him, that he should always have a Share in his Friendship; and certified to all, who were present, how steady an Opinion he retain'd of their Loyalty, in refusing to entertain any Suspicions to the contrary; as also, that he could meet Death with a true heroic Magnanimity.



## CHAP. V.

**P**ARMENIO was then dispatch'd to seize the Streights which divide *Cilicia* from *Assyria*, and to keep Possession thereof; and with him, the

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<sup>s</sup> *Seneca* says, this Letter was not sent from *Parmenio*, but from his Mother *Olympias*. See his Book *De Ira*, lib. ii. 23. But in this, he contradicts every body, and will hardly gain Credit.

auxiliary Troops of Foot, the mercenary *Greeks*, and *Thracians*, commanded by *Sitalces*, as also the *Thessalian* Horse. He afterwards followed him from *Tarsus*, and in his first Day's March, arrived at *Anchialos*. This City is said to have been built by *Sardanapalus* King of *Assyria*; and indeed the vast Circuit thereof, and the Foundations of the ancient Walls, shew that it has been a stately, flourishing, and populous City. The Tomb of *Sardanapalus* was nigh the Walls, on the Top whereof was his Statue, seeming to clap his Hands for Joy. The Inscription thereof was formerly wrote in the *Assyrian* Language, and (as the Inhabitants thereabouts report) in Verse, the Substance of which was this; *Sardanapalus the Son of Anacyndaraxas; built Anchialus and Tarsus in one Day. As for thee, O Traveller, Eat, Drink, Play, for all other human Things do not deserve this*: alluding to the Joy signified by the clapping of his Hands. But the Word ΠΑΙΖΕ, is said in the Original to contain a much more effeminate and lascivious Meaning. From *Anchialus*, *Alexander* hasted to *Soli*, in which City having placed a Garrison, he exacted Two hundred Talents of Silver from the Inhabitants, because they seem'd to incline most to the *Persian* Interest. Afterwards, with three Troops of *Macedonian* Foot, and all his Archers, and *Agrians*, encountering the *Cilicians*, who had seiz'd the Passes thro' the Mountains, in the space of seven Days, partly by Force, and partly by Composition, he reduced them all to his Obedience, and then returned to *Soli*. Here he received Intelligence, that <sup>1</sup> *Orontobates* the *Persian*,

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<sup>1</sup> *Curcius* gives us but a lame Account of this; he only tells us, that *Alexander* here received a Message, that his Men had defeated the *Persians*, and that the *Myndians* and *Caunians* were brought under. See *lib. iii. cap. 7*. But who were the Commanders of each Party he mentions not: he also gives us no Account of his passing thro'

lian, (who had held the Government of the Castle of *Halicarnassus*, and <sup>2</sup> *Myndus*, and *Caunus*, and *Theras*, and *Callipolis*, against him) had received an Overthrow by *Ptolomey* and *Alexander*; and that the Island *Cos*, and *Triopium*, had declared for the Conquerors. The Battle was bloody; about Seven hundred *Persian* Foot, and Fifty of their Horse being slain, and not fewer than a Thousand taken Prisoners. While *Alexander* lay at *Soli*, he sacrificed to <sup>3</sup> *Æsculapius*, for the Recovery of his Health; himself and all his Army walking in Procession, with lighted Torches in their Hands. He also exhibited <sup>4</sup> *Gymnick* and *Musical* Exercises; and allowed the Citizens to change their Government into a Popular State. Thence taking his Rout towards *Tarsus*, (and giving *Philotas* Orders to march thro' the Country of *Aleius*, as far as the River *Pyramus*) with his Foot, and Royal Cohort, he arrived at *Megarsus*, where he offered Sacrifice to *Minerva* of *Megarsus*. Thence moving to *Mallos*, he sacrificed to <sup>5</sup> *Amphilochus*, as a Hero; and

thro' *Anchialos*; and he makes him spend his Time at *Soli*, in exhibiting Shows, and sacrificing; whereas *Arrian* assures us, he made an Excursion into the Country, and reduced the mountainous Part of *Cilicia*, and then returned to *Soli*.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander* attempted *Myndus*, when he laid Siege to *Halicarnassus*, but without Success. *Myndus*, *Caunus*, *Theras*, and *Callipolis*, are all Cities in *Caria*; and *Cos* an Island adjacent to the Coast of that Province.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 7. tells us, he exhibited certain Shows to the Honour of *Æsculapius* and *Minerva*; but leaves us to guess the rest.

<sup>4</sup> *Gymnick* and *Musical* Exercises, or Sports, are so often mentioned in this Work, that it may not be improper to explain them. *Gymnick* Sports were so call'd, because they were performed naked: They were chiefly Running, Leaping, Quoiting, Wrestling, and Boxing. The *Musical* Sports, were performed in Honour of the Muses; such were Comedies, Tragedies, Satires, and all that were Theatrical.

<sup>5</sup> The Reason why *Alexander* sacrificed to *Amphilochus* at *Mallos*, was, because he was the Founder of their City. See *Strabo*, lib. xiv. p. 993. Edit. Casaub.

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having quell'd a Sedition among the Citizens, he released them from the Tribute which they had formerly paid to *Darius*, because the Inhabitants of that City were a Colony of *Argives*; and he himself deduced his Pedigree from *Hercules Argivus*.



## C H A P. VI.

**W**HILE *Alexander* continued at *Mallos*, News was brought him, that *Darius*, with his whole Army, lay encamp'd at ' *Sochos*, a Place in *Affyria*, about two Days Journey from the Streights before-mentioned. Whereupon, having call'd together a Council of his Friends, he declared what had been related to him concerning *Darius* and his Forces; and they immediately requested to be led thither against them. Hereupon he dismiss'd the Council, with due Praises of their Valour; and, the next Day, set forwards with his Army, and having pass'd the *Persian* Streights, the Day after, he pitch'd his Tents before the City *Myriandrus*. But a huge Tempest arising, that Night, and a prodigious Quantity of Rain falling, so annoy'd his Forces, that he continued still in the same Place. *Darius*, in the mean time, had chose a fit Place for his Army to encamp in, being a large Plain, every way open, and exceedingly commodious for so great a Force, especially where the Horse made up so considerable a Part of the Army: And *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, a Defetter from *Alexander*, persuaded him

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<sup>1</sup> This *Sochos* is thought to be the same Place, which *Curcius* calls *Unchos*, or *Orchas*, *lib. iv. cap. 1.* It is about the mid-way between *Iffus* and *Thapsacus*, being two Days Journey from each.



by all means, to remain there; and assured him, that that Place, considering the Multitudes of their Friends, and the vast Quantity of their Baggage, was the fittest imaginable: And *Darius* accordingly remained there for some time. But *Alexander's* long Stay at *Tarsus*, by reason of his Sickneſs; and at *Soli*, where he exhibited Shows, and offered Sacrifices; beſides the Time he ſpent in ſubduing the *Cilicians*, who had poſſeſs'd the Paſſes, drove *Darius* entirely from his Reſolutions: and indeed, ſuch was his Nature, that he was eaſily induced to believe that Truth, which he wiſh'd to be ſo; and was, then eſpecially, influenced by thoſe who conſulted not ſo much what would be profitable, as what was pleaſant to him. Thoſe Sycophants (the moſt certain Bane of all Kingdoms) perſuaded him, that *Alexander*, upon Advice of his Approach, at the Head of ſuch a numerous Army, durſt not proceed any further. And their common Diſcourſe, throughout the Camp, was, That *Darius's* Horſe alone, would be ſufficient to trample the whole *Macedonian* Army under Foot. Notwithſtanding this, *Amyntas* always affirm'd, that *Alexander* would certainly come to any Place, where-ever he heard *Darius* lay encamp'd; and perſuaded him, by all means, to continue there, and wait his Approach. But worſe Advice, proving more grateful to the King's Ears, prevail'd. And whether it was ſome God, or Fortune which drew him out, moſt certain it is, he afterwards choſe an unfit Place, where his Horſe could neither be of much Service to him, nor the numerous Multitude of his Darters and Archers contribute to his Safety; nor, indeed, had he ſo much as an Opportunity to ſhow the Magnificence of his Army; but afforded *Alexander* a cheap and eaſy Victory. And it was, undoubtedly, decreed by Fate, that the *Persians* ſhould be deprived of the Empire of *Aſia* by the *Macedonians*,

as the *Medes* had been by the *Persians*, and the *Affyrians* heretofore by the *Medes*.



## C H A P. VII.

**D**A R I U S, having already pass'd by the Mountain, which is near the Streights of *Amanus*, directed his March towards *Iffus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was now behind him. Having taken *Iffus*, as many *Macedonians* as had been left there by *Alexander*, for the Recovery of their Health, were first cruelly handled, and afterwards slain. The Day after, he proceeded to the River <sup>1</sup> *Pindarus*. So soon as <sup>2</sup> *Alexander* heard that *Darius* was left behind him, because he could not believe the News, he dispatch'd some of his Friends, in a Ship with thirty Oars, towards *Iffus*, to inquire into the Truth of the Story; who going accordingly on board, (as the Sea on that Coast terminates in a large Bay) they soon perceived where the *Persians* had pitch'd their Tents; and accordingly acquainted *Alexander*, that *Darius* was now in his Hands. He, calling a Council of all his Captains of Cohorts, and Troops, and the Prefects of his Auxiliaries, <sup>3</sup> advised them to be of good Courage, to remember what

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch*, by a Mistake of himself, or his Transcribers, calls this River *Pindarus*, against the Testimony of all other Writers. See *Vita Alex.* p. 1239.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* omits this Circumstance of the two Armies passing by each other, which makes his Description of the Disposition of them afterwards, unintelligible. See more of this in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

<sup>3</sup> See the Difference between *Alexander's* Speech here, and that, on the same Occasion, in *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 10. Both of them were undoubtedly made by the several Authors, without *Alexander's* Privy

what great and glorious Actions they had already performed, and to consider that this Battle would be no more, than for them, who were ever Conquerors, to fight against those who were always beaten; that the Gods must certainly declare for them, against *Darius*; who had been so far infatuated, as to move his Army from that spacious Plain, into these Streights, where the *Macedonians* had Room enough commodiously to form their Phalanx, but where the vast Multitude of their Enemies would be altogether unserviceable. He added, That those with whom they were now to fight, were neither equal to them in Strength, nor Valour; that the *Macedonians* were to encounter with the *Medes* and *Persians*, Nations which had been enervated by long Ease and Effeminacy; whereas they

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Privity or Consent. They knew not what he said, and therefore only guess'd what he might have said, or wrote what themselves would have said, on the like Occasion. His Speech, in *Curtius*, is so romantick, that the very reciting it will be sufficient to expose it. He tells his Soldiers, "That their Valour, which, with his Conduct, had gain'd so many Victories in *Europe*, he hoped they "had brought with them, in order to conquer *Asia*:— And then he promises them, "That they shall extend their Conquests beyond "the Bounds of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, and never rest till they had "brought the whole World under Subjection: Theirs should be "the Countries of the *Bactrians*, and *Indians*; to which all they "had gain'd already, was in Comparison as nothing, &c." —  
*Alexander* had indeed pass'd the *Hellepont*, and got some Footing upon the Continent of *Asia*: He had also gain'd some Reputation by the Battle at *Granicus*. But what was all this, to induce him to talk of *Bacchus*' and *Hercules*'s Bounds? I dare verily affirm, no such Thought once enter'd his Head, at that Time: and how a dreaming Rhetorician could make him talk so wildly, is hard to determine. Besides, the Fable of *Bacchus*' and *Hercules*'s Bounds Eastward, was of a much later Date, and owes its Rise to some Sycophants in *Alexander*'s Army, as *Eratosthenes* has made appear, beyond Contradiction. See *Strabo*, lib. xi. p. 771. *Casaub.* and *Arrian*, lib. v. cap. 1, &c. But the merriest part of his Speech is, *Illos terrarum Orbis Liberatores, non Persis modo, sed etiam omnibus Gentibus imposuiros Jugum*: "They, the Assertors of the World's "Liberty, should not only lay their Yoke of Bondage on the "*Persians*, but all other Nations upon Earth."

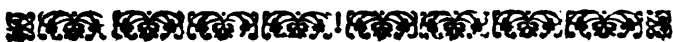
the Mountains begun to open a little, he disposed his Army, one part after another, into a close and regular Phalanx, the Right Wing thereof extending to the Mountain, and the Left to the Sea-shore. The Horse, at the same time, standing ranged, behind the Foot. But when they arrived in an open Country, he immediately drew them up in order of Battle. In the Right Wing, towards the Mountain, he placed a Squadron of Foot, and the Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio*. Next to these, the Troops of *Canus* and *Perdiccas*; and these he placed so, as to extend to the middle Ranks of the heavy-arm'd Foot. In the Left Wing were *Amyntas*'s, *Ptolemy*'s, and *Meleager*'s Forces. The Foot, in this Range, was commanded by *Craterus*; but the Charge of the whole Wing was given to *Parmenio*, who had strict Orders not to remove from his Station on the Sea-shore, lest he should suffer the Army to be surrounded by the *Barbarians*, who were much superior to the *Macedonians* in Numbers. *Darius*, as soon as he was certified of *Alexander*'s Approach with a choice Army, ordered Thirty thousand of his Horse, and Twenty thousand Foot to pass the River *Pinarus*, that the rest might draw up the more commodiously: And, first of all, he ranged the <sup>2</sup> *Greek* mercenary Troops, which were heavy-arm'd, in Front, (in Number about Thirty thousand) to oppose the *Macedonian* Phalanx; and on each Hand of them, stood Sixty thousand of the *Cardaci*, who were also heavy-arm'd, in the Form of Wings; for the Mountain being so near, would not suffer more Troops

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* erroneously places *Amyntas*'s, *Ptolemy*'s, and *Meleager*'s Troops on the Right Wing, and leaves none for the Left, but *Craterus*'s Foot, and the *Peloponnesian* Horse. See *lib. iii. cap. 9.*

<sup>2</sup> Those Troops of mercenary *Grecians*, were under the Command of *Thymondas* the Son of *Mentor*; and in them, the chief Strength of *Darius*'s Army lay.

to stand ranged in Front. On the Left Hand, towards the Mountain, facing *Alexander's* Right Wing, he placed Twenty thousand, and some of those extended even to the Backs of the *Macedonians*; for the Mountain under which the Army was drawn up, sloping a great way inward, form'd a kind of a Bay, or hollow Part, like those made by the Sea on the Shore; and after that, winding forwards, was the Cause that those who were posted at the Foot thereof, beheld the Backs of *Alexander's* Right Wing. The remaining Multitude of *Darius's* Soldiers, as well light, as heavy-arm'd, (according to the Difference of Nations, whereof they were composed) were reduced into close and unserviceable Orders, and placed behind the *Greek* Mercenaries; and the Phalanx of *Barbarians*, and the whole Number of *Darius's* Forces there, is said to have amounted to Six hundred thousand. As soon as ever *Alexander* saw the narrow Passage open, he drew up his Horse in Order, as well his own Royal Cohort, as the *Thessalians*, and *Macedonians*; and those he placed on the Right Wing, near his Person. The *Peloponnesians*, and the rest, he dispatch'd to the Left Wing to *Parmenio*. When *Darius* had ordered his Army, the Horse which he had, before, commanded to pass the River, he suddenly recalled, and posted the greatest part of them on the Right Wing, towards the Sea, against *Parmenio*; because they were of most Use there: the rest, he ordered to the Left, at the Foot of the Mountain. But when he perceived they could not be serviceable there, by reason of the Narrowness of the Place, he commanded many of them to go and strengthen their Companions on the Right Wing. *Darius*, observing the antient and established Rule of the *Persian* Monarchs, kept the main Body; the Reason of which Custom is given us by *Xenophon* the Son of *Gryllus*.



## C H A P. IX.

**I**N ' the mean while, *Alexander* perceiving almost all the *Persian* Horse drawn up against his Left Wing, on the Sea-shore, and considering, that only the *Peloponnesian*, and part of the Royal Cohort of Horse, were posted there, he immediately dispatch'd the *Thessalian* Horse thither, with Orders that they should convey themselves to that Post, as secretly as they could, to prevent the Enemies from discovering their March. In their Places, on the Right Wing, he appointed those Horse which had usually made up the forlorn Hope, commanded by *Protomachus*, and the *Pæonians* by *Ariston*, and among the Foot, the Archers headed by *Antiochus*, and the *Agrians* by *Attalus*, besides some Troops of Horse and Archers, which he placed in the very Turning, with their Faces towards the Mountain:

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\* *Freinshemius*, who has done *Curtius* the greatest Justice of any of his Commentators, tells us plainly, that his Descriptions of the Dispositions of Battles are so confused, that he knows not what to make of them; for which Reason, he prefers *Arrian*, especially in that respect, infinitely before him. And if any, says he, imagine I injure *Curtius*, in this Particular, let him satisfy me what he can mean by this Passage; "The Right Wing of *Alexander's* Army was, by this Time, almost encompass'd by the Enemy, but that he commanded two Regiments of Horse to the Top of the Hill, and the rest into the Heat of the Fight." *Alexander's* Right Wing had possess'd themselves of the Hill before; for which Reason, they could not be surrounded; neither could his Left Wing, for they were extended to the Sea-shore. He has shew'd us three or four Inconsistencies more, which my Brevity will not suffer me to point out: And after *Freinshemius* has transcribed *Arrian's* whole Description of the Disposition of both Armies, he concludes thus; "How much juster, better, and more accurately, has *Arrian* described all these things?" See *Freinsh. Comm. on Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 11. num. 2.*

So that those who made up the Right Part of the Phalanx were divided into two Wings, the one fronting *Darius* and the *Persians*, on the other Side of the River; the other opposite, who stood with their Backs towards the Mountain. On the Left Side, he placed the *Cretan* and *Thracian* Archers, commanded by *Sitalces*, and before those, the Horse which belong'd to the Right Wing; the foreign mercenary Troops being placed on the Rear. But now, perceiving the Phalanx on the Right Wing too much weakened, and imagining that the *Persians* might easily surround it, he ordered two Troops from the main Body, the *Anthebusian* Cohort, over which was *Peridas* the Son of *Meneſtheus*, and the *Lagæan* Cohort, commanded by *Pantordanus* the Son of *Cleander*, to wheel off silently to the Right. But the Archers, and part of the *Agrians*, with some of the *Greek* Mercenaries, he had before drawn off from the Right Wing, and placed in the Front, by which means, that Phalanx was stretch'd out beyond the Enemies opposite Wing. But as those who were posted at the Foot of the Mountain, did not attempt to descend, but on the contrary, when an Attack was made upon them, by a small Party of Archers and *Agrians*, were easily beat from their Station, and fled up the Side thereof; he thought those whom he had placed there, might be more useful to strengthen the Phalanx elsewhere, and that a Party of Three hundred Horse would be sufficient to cope with the Enemy on that Side.





## C H A P. X.

**A**LEXANDER having thus marshall'd his Army, led them on slowly against the Enemy: Neither did *Darius* suffer his Soldiers to move from their Posts, to meet them, but kept them on the Banks of the River, which were there, steep and difficult to ascend; or where-ever the Ascent was easier, he fortified the Place with a Rampart. Which was an Argument to the *Macedonians*, that He, even then, imagined himself a Prisoner. But after the Armies join'd Battle, *Alexander* appear'd every where, that he might encourage his Men to behave themselves valiantly, and not only call'd to all his chief Commanders, by their several Names, and Titles, but also to the Tribunes, and other Officers, and even those Prefects of the Mercenaries, who were either illustrious by Descent, or had made themselves so, by martial Exploits. And now the Word was given, and the Cry went round, to rush forwards upon their Enemies: but altho' *Alexander* had *Darius's* whole Army full in view, yet he advanced leisurely at first, lest his Phalanx, by too eager a Contention, should fall into Disorder. Nevertheless, when they came within the Reach of their Darts, those of the Right Wing, who surrounded him, and afterwards He himself, push'd forwards into the River, in such a manner as struck a Terror into their Enemies, and, coming swiftly upon them, they received little Damage from their Arrows. And this succeeded according to *Alexander's* Design; for the moment they came to Hand-Blows, the Enemies who were posted on the Left Wing of their Army, turn'd their Backs and fled; and *Alexander* and his



his Companions obtain'd a cheap and entire Victory on that Side. But the *Greek* mercenary Troops of *Darius's* Party, seeing the Right Wing of the *Macedonians* divided, (for *Alexander* suddenly entering the River, and encountering the *Persians*, easily repuls'd them on the Part where he landed; but those who followed, had not the same Success, for being stopp'd by the steep and rugged Banks, they could scarce preserve their Order of Battle) made an Attack on that Part of the Phalanx which they saw disjoin'd, and thence ensued a sharp Conflict, the *Persians* endeavouring to push the *Macedonians* back into the River, and (tho' many of their own Troops were now flying) to wrest the Victory out of their Hands; and the *Macedonians*, on the other hand, striving to render the Conquest, they had already well nigh obtain'd, compleat; and that the Glory of the Phalanx, which had, to that Time, been unfulfilled, and which was known to every body, should not suffer by that Day's Action. And then happen'd a Strife between the *Grecians* and *Macedonians*, concerning the Honour of their respective Nations. In this Conflict with the Enemy, fell <sup>1</sup> *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*, after having behaved himself gloriously; and other *Macedonians* of no mean Account, to the Number of One hundred and twenty.

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* gives us no manner of Account of the Death of *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*: These Hundred and twenty *Macedonians* were the Number which fell before *Alexander* attack'd the mercenary *Grecians*, but the whole Number which were slain in the Battle, he has no where given us.





## C H A P. XI.

THE Cohorts which were posted on the Right Wing, perceiving the *Persians* opposite to them, to turn their Backs, hastened straightway to attack *Darius's* foreign Mercenaries, and after an obstinate Defence, drove them from the Banks of the River, and surrounding that part of the Army which had been broke, and attacking them on the opposite Side, they made a great Slaughter among them. But the *Persian* Horse which faced the *Thessalians*, continued the Conflict a long time after the *Macedonians* had pass'd the River, and opposing them with much Valour and Magnanimity,

\* These foreign mercenary Troops, *Curtius* has told us, over and over, were those wherein *Darius* placed his greatest Confidence; and he accordingly musters them up under the Command of *Thymondas*, and posts them in the Left Wing of his Army. But in his whole Description of the Action, we have not one Word of what they either did or suffered, as if they had stood idle Spectators all the while; only at the very last, he condescends to tell us, (as a Proof of their Bravery, I suppose) "that they did not run away quite so fast as the *Persians*." Besides, there is still another Inconsistency in his Story: He brings them into the Field like a parcel of Heroes, under the Conduct of *Thymondas*; but when they came to run away, or to retreat, as he terms it, *Amyntas*, a Renegado from *Alexander*, was their General.— So that *Thymondas* must be made use of, for so honourable a Post as to lead them on, but a Renegado Greek was good enough to shew them how to run away. The Truth is, *Thymondas* might command in chief; but *Arrian* has given us the Names of many others, who commanded particular Troops of them, (*viz.*) *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, *Aristomedes* the *Pherean*, *Bianor* the *Acharnanian*, &c. They were all Greeks, and all Renegadoes alike, and by his forbearing to mention *Thymondas* any more, I should have imagined he had been slain there, if *Arrian*, lib. ii. cap. 13. did not assure me, that He, with the other Commanders already named, fled into *Egypt*.

a fierce Equestrian Fight ensued, which continued till they received Intelligence, that *Darius* himself was fled, and the *Grecian* Mercenaries routed, and dispersed by the *Macedonians*. The Overthrow of the *Persian* Army was then perceived on all Sides; their Horses, because their Riders were heavy-arm'd, were many of them overtaken, and cut off in the Retreat, and the Riders themselves were so much incommoded by the Narrowness of the Roads; and their own Fears, that while each endeavoured to fly swifter than another, they hinder'd each other, and received little less Loss from their own Party, than from the Enemy, in pursuit after them: The *Thessalians*, however, followed them close; and 'tis hard to determine whether their Loss of Horse, or Foot Forces, was greatest, in their Flight. As soon as *Darius* perceived his Left Wing broke by *Alexander*, and that part of his Army dispersed, and put to Flight, he immediately drove out of the Battle, and escaped <sup>1</sup> in a Chariot, with some

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\* For the Description of the *Persian* Chariots of State, see *Briffon. lib. i. p. 83*. Here, *Curtius*, by introducing *Darius* in a Chariot, has taken an opportunity of describing it at large; and he is every where fond of such Descriptions, how little soever they suit his purpose. But the Mistortune is, *Curtius* has mistaken every way; for he affirms, *lib. iii. cap. 11*. "That *Darius* was present in the Battle, seated upon a high Throne, visible to both Armies, &c.—" and that *Alexander* himself saw him.—That in the Heat of the Fight, his Horses, being wounded, begun to be unruly; so that the Chariot in which he sat, was ready to be overturn'd: which he perceiving, mounted a Horse, prepared for that purpose, and chose to throw away his Kingly Robes, and fly." *Arrian* here seems to intimate, that *Darius* did not fight in his Chariot, but on Horseback, and when he perceived the Battle lost, he mounted a Chariot, for Flight. *Diodorus, lib. xiii. p. 513*. tells us, he moved out of one Chariot into another.—That he fled away in a Chariot is beyond all dispute, because, being forced to quit it afterwards, it was seiz'd by *Alexander*; and that he did not throw off his Cloak during the Fight, is as certain; for it was found in the Chariot. One Word more, as to the unweildy Chariot of State, wherein *Curtius* places him, and which, he says, *lib. iii. cap. 3*. "was adorn'd with  
"Images

some of his Nobles: And so far as the Country was plain and open, his Chariot convey'd him away with Ease and Safety; but when the Roads begun to be rough, and the Country mountainous, he quitted it, and having left therein his Shield, his Cloak, and his Bow, continued his Flight on Horseback; and had not the Night favoured him, he had then fallen into his Enemies Hands; for whilst it was yet Day, *Alexander* pursued hard after him, but when it was dark he returned to his Army, carrying with him the Chariot, the Shield, the Cloak, and Bow of *Darius*, which had fallen into his Hands. Besides, *Alexander* did not attempt to pursue him, before he had seen the foreign Mercenaries, and the *Persian* Horse, dispersed, and driven far from their Station, on the Banks of the River. Of the *Persians* there fell *Arsames*, *Rheomithres*, and *Atizyes*, who had been Captains of Horse in the Fight at the River *Granicus*; as also *Sabaces* Governor of *Ægypt*, and *Bubaces*, Men of great Account in *Persia*; besides a vast Multitude of private Men, to the number of a <sup>3</sup> Hundred thousand, including Ten thousand Horse.

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"Images of their Gods in Silver and Gold; the Axle-tree thereof glittered with precious Stones: Upon it were two Images of Gold, the one representing *Ninus*, the other *Belus*, of a Cubit Stature each; between them, was an Eagle of Gold, displaying her Wings over both, &c." This Chariot, according to the Description here given, must be five times as heavy as my Lord Mayor's great Coach; and consequently, an useless piece of Lumber in the Fight. However, I would gladly be inform'd what became of it after the Battle. *Curtius* makes *Darius* fly away on Horseback: *Diodorus* moves him out of one Chariot into another: And *Arrian* positively tells us, that the Chariot wherein he fled out of the Battle, was taken by *Alexander*. But in all these Accounts, we hear never a Word of the Gold and Silver Gods, Diamonds, &c. nor *Belus* and *Ninus*, of a Cubit Stature each: So that we must either suppose them *Curtius's* own Contrivance, or that the fly *Macedonian* Soldiers pilfer'd them, and put them into their Pockets.

<sup>3</sup> *Arrian* differs but little from *Curtius* in the Number of *Persians* slain in this Battle, only he includes the Ten thousand Horse into the Hundred thousand which fell that Day. *Diodorus* reckons them

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Horse. The Slaughter was so great, that *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* reports, that those who accompanied *Alexander* in his Pursuit after *Darius*, when they came to a Ditch, fill'd it up with the dead Bodies of their Enemies, and so pass'd over upon them. *Darius's* Tent was taken at the Beginning of the Fight, and therein, his Mother, his Wife, his Sister, and his Son, an Infant, besides his two Daughters, with a great number of the Wives of the principal Nobility in the Army; for the other *Persians* had dispatch'd their Wives along with the Carriages to *Damascus*; whither also *Darius* had sent the greatest part of his Treasure, and many other Things, which warlike Kings carry with them, to shew their Splendor and Magnificence; so that there was not above Three thousand Talents found in the whole Camp. However, all the Treasure

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One hundred and twenty thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse. *Justin*, Sixty-one thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse, besides Forty thousand Prisoners. *Orosius*, Eighty thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse, and Forty thousand taken. *Plutarch* tells us, in one general Number, that One hundred and ten thousand fell that Day, without making any Distinction, how many of them were Foot, or how many Horse. So great a Difference there is in Authors, in this one Article. *Freinshemius* imagines that the Number in *Justin* is corrupt, and that instead of *Unum & sexaginta millia*, it ought to be *Centum & sexaginta millia*; namely, One hundred and sixty thousand. *Curtius* tells us, there fell of the *Macedonians* no more than Thirty-two Foot, and One hundred and fifty Horse: which is against all Reason and Probability. Sundry Criticks have been nibbling at him, and endeavouring to amend him, but I think to little purpose, because they do it contrary to all Manuscripts; and, as the Number of Foot Forces were generally five or six times as many as the Horse, it is very reasonable to imagine, that the Number slain should bear some better Proportion to the Number brought into the Field, than Thirty-two Foot, to One hundred and fifty Horse. However, the *Historia Miscell.* assures us, it has been the Custom of all antient Writers, to lessen the Number of the Slain, on that Side which was victorious, lest the too exact Knowledge of their Loss should eclipse the Glory of the Victory; unless it happens that so few, in reality, fall, as to excite our Wonder at their extraordinary Valour. *Lib. ii. cap. 15.*

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abovementioned was, soon after, seiz'd on the Road, by *Parmenio*. This Battle was fought in the Month *Maimacterion*, when *Nicostratus* was Archon at *Athens*.



## C H A P. XII.

THE Day after, *Alexander*, tho' still indisposed, by reason of a Hurt which he had received in his Thigh, visited the Wounded, and having diligently search'd after the Bodies of the Slain, ordered them to be splendidly interr'd, the whole Army standing rank'd in Battle array; and at the same time bestowing Praises on every one, whom either he had seen behaving themselves gallantly in the Battle, or relating their noble Actions, from the Information of others; he also honour'd each of them with a Largeſs of Money, according to his Honour or Merit. After this, he constituted *Balacrus* the Son of *Nicanor*, one of his Body Guards, Governor of *Cilicia*, and appointed *Menetes* the Son of *Dionysius*, to ſucceed him. The Troop of *Ptolomey* the Son of *Seleucus*, who fell in the laſt Battle, he beſtowed on *Polyſperchon* the Son of *Simmiſ*. The Fifty Talents which ſtill remained unpaid by the Citizens of *Soli*, he remitted, and delivered up their Hoſtages. Neither, among all this Hurry of Affairs, was he unmindful of the Mother of *Darius*, nor of his Wife, nor Children: For ſome of the Writers of *Alexander's* Life relate, that the very Night on which he returned from the Purſuit, when he enter'd into *Darius's* Tent, which had been ſeiz'd, and kept for him, he heard a Woman's Lamentation, and ſome other Noiſe, not far diſtant, and inquiring  
what

what Women these were, and why in a Tent so near? was immediately answer'd, "O King, the Mother, and Wife, and Children of *Darius*, being told that thou hast taken his Cloak, his Arms, and his Shield, pour forth their Lamentations for *Darius*, supposing him slain." *Alexander* hearing this, immediately dispatch'd <sup>1</sup> *Leonnatus*, one of his Friends, to them, with Orders to acquaint them, that *Darius* was still alive; but that his Arms and Cloak were seiz'd in his Chariot, after he had quitted it, and only these were in *Alexander's* Custody. *Leonnatus* having enter'd the Tent, deliver'd his Message, and withal told them, that *Alexander* had allow'd them to wear their Royal Apparel, to appear in State, and have the Title of Queens; and to assure them, that it was for no old Enmity the War against *Darius* was undertaken, but gloriously to contend for the Empire of *Asia*. Thus *Ptolomey* and *Aristobulus* relate the Story. But others say, that *Alexander* himself, the next Day, enter'd the Tent, without any Attendant of Note, except his Friend *Hephæstion*; and that *Darius's* Mother, doubting which of them was the King, (for their Habit was much alike) went to *Hephæstion*, and, because he appear'd somewhat taller, fell at his Feet, and saluted him. But when he retired, and some who were nigh shew'd her *Alexander*, she was ashamed of her Mistake, and endeavoured to retire: But he told her, she was not mistaken, for *Hephæstion* was an *Alexander*. <sup>2</sup> This last Passage I neither relate as Truth,

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iii. cap. 12. tells us, he determined, at first, to have sent *Mithrenes*, who had betrayed *Sardis* into his Hands; but considering, he would be look'd upon as a Traytor, and that a Message by him, might add to their Grief, he set aside all Thoughts of him, and dispatch'd *Leonnatus*. *Arrian* says nothing of *Mithrenes*: and truly, the Story is not at all probable.

<sup>2</sup> This Story we have told us, for actual Truth, by *Curtius*; who mentions some other Circumstances, as that when *Darius's* Mother

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Truth, nor condemn as Fiction : If it be true, *Alexander's* Pity and Indulgence us'd to the Women, and the Honour bestowed on his Friend, deserves the highest Commendation ; but supposing them feign'd, and only related as Probabilities, by the Writers of those Times ; yet still they are Actions worthy *Alexander*, and truly great, and glorious.



## C H A P. XIII.

**D**ARIUS fled away, by Night, with a few of his Friends ; but in the Day-time, gathering up the *Persians*, and foreign Mercenaries, who had escap'd out of the Battle, amounting in all to about <sup>1</sup> Four thousand ; he march'd, by long Journies, to the City *Thapsacus*, on the River *Euphrates*, that he might, as soon as possible, have that River as a Barrier between him and *Alexander*. In the mean while, <sup>2</sup> *Amyntas* the Son of *Antiochus*, and *Tymodes*

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mistook *Hephestion* for *Alexander*, she was inform'd of her Error, by one of her Eunuchs, — *lib. iii. cap. 12.* Now, I would gladly know, how any of her Eunuchs came to be so much wiser than herself? 'Tis much more likely, it was one of *Alexander's*, or *Hephestion's* Attendants, of inferior Rank. *Arrian* tells the whole, as a Story, and leaves us to our liberty, whether we will believe it or no. If it be not true, 'tis pity but it should.

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* erroneously calls all those Four thousand, *Greeks* ; without taking notice of any others.

<sup>2</sup> Such an Air of Romance is given to this Story, by *Curtius*, *lib. iv. cap. 1.* that it may not be improper to let our Readers have a Taste of it. "*Amyntas*, says he, who, a little before, had deserted *Alexander*, fled with the Four thousand *Grecians* under his Command, to *Tripolis* ; where, getting his Men on Shipboard, he pass'd to *Cyprus* ; whence, he sail'd again for *Egypt*, and landing at *Pelusium*, seiz'd that Place, and march'd on to *Memphis*, many of the *Egyptians* coming in to him, by the Way." — He then adds, that

*Amyntas*



*Thymodes* the Son of *Mentor*, with *Aristomedes* the *Pherean*, and *Bianor* the *Acarnanian*, all Deserters, fled away from the Battle, with about Eight thousand Men, and pass'd thro' the mountainous Country to *Tripolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*; where seizing some Ships (newly drawn out of the Docks) wherein they had been before transported from *Lesbos*, as many of them as were fit for their purpose, they put to Sea with; the rest they burnt in the Dock, lest they should afterwards be made use of by their Enemies to pursue them: with these, they sail'd first to *Cyprus*, and afterwards to *Ægypt*, where *Amyntas*, attempting Innovations, was slain by the Inhabitants. *Pharnabazus* and *Autophrades* staid some time at *Chius*; but that Island being strengthen'd with a Garrison, and having dispatch'd away some Ships to *Coos* and *Halicarnassus*; they, with a Hundred Sail, well stored, came to *Siphnus*: Thither, *Agis* King of the *Lacedæmonians* arriving in a *Trireme*, required Money for the Use of the War, and as many Sea, and Land-Forces as they could spare, to be sent into *Peloponnesus*. But at that very Time, arrived a Messenger with the News of the fatal Battle of *Iffus*; which, striking a Terror into their Minds, *Pharnabazus*, with Twelve Ships, and <sup>3</sup> One thousand five hundred foreign Mercenaries, sail'd to *Chius*, lest the Inhabitants of that Island, hearing of this Defeat, should attempt to

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*Amyntas* overcame some body in a Fight; but tells us neither whom, nor where the Action was. However, after this Fight, he laid Siege to *Memphis*, (and thought, no doubt, to have carried all before him) but "*Mezaces* the *Persian* General sallied forth upon them, and slew "*Amyntas*, and every one of his Soldiers."—That was clean Work, and this was either the sharpest Battle that ever was fought, or *Curtius* has given us the most improbable Story that ever was told.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* has cut this short; for he only tells us, that *Pharnabazus* raised Money from the *Milesians*, and having garrison'd *Chius*, went to *Andros*, and thence to *Siphnus*, with an Hundred Sail of Ships, *lib. iv. cap. 1.*

revolt. *Agis* having received from *Autophradates*, Thirty Talents of Silver, and Ten Ships, dispatch'd these, by *Hippias*, to his Brother *Agefilaus* at *Tenarus*, with Orders, that the Moment he had paid the Sailors their Arrears, he should hasten into *Crete*, to settle the Affairs of that Island. He tarrying among these Islands some time, departed, at last, to *Autophradates* at *Halicarnassus*. In the mean time, *Alexander* appointed <sup>4</sup> *Menon* the Son of *Cerdimas*, to be Governor of *Cælosyria*, and left him some of the auxiliary Troops of Horse, for the Safety of the Province, while he march'd forwards into *Phœnicia*, where, by the Way, he was met by <sup>5</sup> *Strato* the Son of *Gerostratus*; (this *Gerostratus* was King of *Arados*, and all the neighbouring Islands, and he, with other *Phœnician* and *Cyprian* Princes, had join'd his Fleet with *Autophradates*) who, placing a Crown of Gold upon *Alexander's* Head, surrender'd into his Hands, the Island *Arados*, and *Maratbus*, a wealthy and populous City on the Continent, over-against it; as also *Mariamme*, and whatever Territories besides, he had in Possession.

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* has committed a strange Error, here, by inserting *Parmenio*, instead of *Menon*. *Arrian* tells us plainly, it was *Menon* the Son of *Cerdimas*. *Curtius*, perhaps, from the Affinity of the two Names, or perhaps from some corrupt Copy, has made it *Parmenio*; and to render his Error the more apparent, he has added,—“by whom the Spoil was seiz'd at *Damascus*.” — *Freinshemius* has pass'd a vast Compliment, here, upon *Arrian's* Diligence, and Sagacity, which I have not room to insert. *Vide Curt. Snakenb. lib. iv. cap. 1.*

<sup>5</sup> This *Strato*, *Curtius* tells us, was King of *Arados*, and all the Sea-coast; but he makes no mention of his Father *Gerostratus*, who was really King, and at that time with *Autophradates* the *Persian* Admiral. *Strato* could therefore be no more than Viceroy, in his Father's Absence: And that the Case stood thus, is evident by what *Arrian* adds afterwards, (*viz.*) That *Gerostratus* hearing how his Son had surrender'd his Territories into *Alexander's* Hands, withdrew his Fleet from *Autophradates*, deserted the *Persian* Interest, and came and join'd his Naval Force with *Alexander's*. See *Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 20.*



## C H A P. XIV.

WHILE *Alexander* remained at *Marathus*, Embassadors came to him with a Letter from *Darius*, who also intreated him by Word of Mouth, to set *Darius's* Mother, and Wife, and Children at Liberty. The Letter itself mention'd the League which *Philip* his Father had enter'd into, with *Artaxerxes*; and that when *Arses* the Son of *Artaxerxes*, ascended the Throne, the same *Philip*, without any Damage received from the *Persians*, or other Provocation whatsoever, had first of all unjustly invaded his Dominions; and how *Alexander*, from the Time he begun his Reign, had never sent Embassadors to confirm the antient Leagues and Treaties between the two Nations; but, on the contrary, had pass'd over into *Asia*, with his Army, and committed numerous Depredations upon his Subjects: that he only took up Arms to defend his own Rights, and protect his Dominions; however, the Event of the War must be according as the Gods had determined: in the mean time, he, a King, sought his Wife, his Mother, and Children, from him, who was also a King, offering to enter into Friendship and Alliance with him, and to that end desired that when *Meniscus* and *Arsmas*, his Embassadors, return'd, he would

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *Alexander* was grievously offended with *Darius*, because he had not given him the Title of King: but he is herein contradicted by *Arrian*. He mentions no Particulars of *Darius's* Letter, but only the Terms proposed for the Restitution of his Mother, Wife, and Children, and they are so gross, that any but a Rhetorician, would have been ashamed to have inserted them. *Vide Curt. lib. iv. cap. 1.*

send others with them, who might both receive the Terms propos'd, and agree to them on his part. *Alexander*, without returning any Answer by the Embassadors, order'd *Tberfippus* to accompany them back again to *Darius*, and to give him a Letter; declaring at the same time, that he would not admit of any verbal Conference. The Letter was to this purpose: "Your Predecessors have enter'd "*Macedonia*, and the rest of *Greece*, in an hostile "*manner*, and injured us, before they received "*any Injuries* from us. I, at my Advancement "*to the Empire of Greece*, willing to revenge my "*Country's Wrongs* upon the *Persians*, have pass'd "*over into Asia*, having received sufficient Provo- "*cation* from your former numerous Ravages. "*You aided the Perinthians* in their unjust Wars "*against my Father*; and *Ochus* transported an "*Army of Persians* into *Thrace*, to disturb the "*Peace of our Government*.<sup>2</sup> My Father was "*slain by Traitors*, whom you had hired for that "*purpose*, (as you have, every where, boasted in "*your Letters*;) and at the same time, when you "*had taken Care* that *Arses* should be dispatch'd "*by Bagoas*, you usurped the Empire unjustly, "*and in open Defiance* of all the *Persian Laws*. "*You have, moreover*, wrote Letters into *Greece*, "*encouraging my Subjects* to Rebellion, and to "*that end* have sent Money to the *Lacedæmonians*, "*and others*, which nevertheless all the *Grecians*, "*except the Lacedæmonians*, loyally rejected; by "*which means*, you strove to withdraw my Friends "*and Followers* from me, and to dissolve that firm "*League* which I have enter'd into, with all the "*States of Greece*. Wherefore I have invaded thy

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<sup>2</sup> *Alexander* here endeavours to lay his Father's Murder to the Charge of the *Persians*; whereas He, or at least his Mother *Olympias*, were vehemently suspected as guilty of it. *Vide Justin, lib. ix. cap. 7.*

“ Realms in a hostile manner, because thou wast  
 “ the first Author of Hostilities. And now, when  
 “ I have beaten thy Governors, and Captains, and  
 “ afterwards thyself and thy whole Army, in a  
 “ pitch’d Battle; and have already, by the Permis-  
 “ sion of the Gods, gain’d Possession of *Asia*; as  
 “ many of thy Soldiers as surrender’d themselves  
 “ into my Hands, after the Battle, I protect; nei-  
 “ ther do they tarry with me, against their Inclina-  
 “ tions, but freely and voluntarily take up Arms  
 “ for my Cause. To me, therefore, as Lord of all  
 “ *Asia*, come, and apply thyself: But if thou art  
 “ afraid of any harsh Usage upon thy coming, send  
 “ some of thy Friends, who may take an Oath  
 “ from me for thy Safety. When thou comest into  
 “ my Presence, ask for thy Mother, thy Wife, and  
 “ Children, and whatsoever thou wilt besides, and  
 “ thou shalt receive them; and nothing shall be  
 “ denied thee. However, when you write to me  
 “ next, remember to entitle me King of *Asia*;  
 “ neither write to me any more as your Equal, but  
 “ as Lord of all your Territories. If you act other-  
 “ wise, I shall look upon it as an Indignity of the  
 “ highest Consequence; and if you dispute my Right  
 “ to the Possession of your Realms, stay, and try the  
 “ Event of another Battle; but hope not any more  
 “ to secure yourself by Flight, for where-ever you  
 “ fly, thither, I will surely pursue you.”



C H A P. XV.

AFTER *Alexander* had been inform’d, that  
 all the Treasure which *Darius* had sent to  
*Damascus*, by *Cophenes* the Son of *Artabazus*, was  
 seiz’d, and that the *Persians* appointed to guard it,

and the rest of the Royal Furniture, were taken Prisoners, he order'd them to be carried back, and kept safe at *Damascus*, by *Parmenio*. But the <sup>1</sup> *Grecian* Embassadors, who had been dispatch'd to *Darius*, before the Battle, and were taken, he commanded to be sent to him. These were *Eutbycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, *Tbaliscus* the Son of *Ismenias*, *Dionysodorus* the Son of *Olympionices* the *Theban*, and *Iphicrates* the Son of *Iobicrates* the General, the *Athenian*. When they were brought into his Presence, *Tbessaliscus* and *Dionysodorus*, being *Thebans*, were immediately set at Liberty, partly out of Compassion to the *Thebans*, and partly because they deserved Pardon, if, after their City had been sack'd and overthrown by the *Macedonians*, they endeavour'd, in some measure, to retrieve the miserable State of themselves, and Country, by the Assistance of *Darius*, and the *Persians*; for thus he stated the Case, mildly, and with great Humanity, towards both. He had, moreover, a private Value for *Tbessaliscus*, on account of his Pedigree, (for he was descended from an antient *Theban* Family) for which reason, he dismiss'd him. He released *Dionysodorus*, because he had been Conqueror at the *Olympick* Games; and *Iphicrates*, for the Love he bore to the *Athenians*, and the Memory of his Father's Glory, whom, whilst he lived, he had always

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, here, jumbles together, and confounds what happened at two different times, as is manifest from comparing him with *Arrian*. He says, *lib. iii. cap. 13*. "That the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, desirous of Change, had dispatch'd their Embassadors to the *Persians*, whose Names were, *Aristogiton*, *Dropides*, and *Iphicrates*, who were *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonians* were, *Pausippus*, *Onomastorides*, *Monimus*, and *Callicratides*." *Arrian* assures us, that the Embassadors taken here, were two *Thebans*, one *Lacedæmonian*, and one *Athenian*, whom he mentions by their Names; but the others whom *Curtius* talks of, (*viz.*) *Pausippus*, *Monimus*, *Anomantus*, and *Callicratides*, were taken in the Country of the *Mardi*, after *Darius's* Death. See *Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 24*.

highly honour'd, and, after his Death, took care that his Bones should be convey'd, to be interr'd among his Ancestors at *Athens*. But *Eutbycles* (as he was a *Lacedæmonian*, and that City was then at open Variance with *Alexander*; and as he could find nothing in his Character worthy of Notice) he order'd into Custody, (tho' without Fetters) and afterwards, when his Affairs were crown'd with Prosperity, on all hands, he also set him at Liberty. *Alexander*, after this, departing from *Marathus*, had the City <sup>2</sup> *Byblus* surrender'd to him; as also the City of <sup>3</sup> *Sidon*; the Citizens inviting him thither, out of their Hatred to *Darius*, and the *Persians*. Then, marching to *Tyrus*, the *Tyrian* Embassadors came forth to meet him, assuring him that the Citizens were ready to obey his Commands. He, with due Praises given both to the City and the Embassadors, (for they were some of the principal Citizens, and one of them the King's Son;

<sup>2</sup> *Byblus*, was a City of *Phœnicia*, seated on the Coast, between *Berytus* and *Tripolis*: *Enylus* was then King thereof; but he being absent with *Autophradates*, the Citizens surrender'd to *Alexander*, and shook off the *Persian* Yoke.

<sup>3</sup> *Sidon* was the most-antient, and illustrious City of all *Phœnicia*, and deservedly renowned for the Wit and Invention of her Citizens. They first found out, and taught, Astronomy, Arithmetick, the Art of dying Purple, and making Glafs; as also the manner of Sailing in the Night, by the Observation of the Stars. It is distant from *Tyre*, Two hundred Furlongs, or Twenty-five *English* Miles. Who was King of *Sidon*, *Arrian* has no where told us. *Cuvius* calls him *Strato*, as he had done the King of *Aradus* before. The Story of *Abdolminus* is well known. *Arrian* either doubted the Truth thereof, or thought it not worth his Notice: But what is strange, *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, two celebrated Authors, are both mistaken about it. *Diodorus* changes the Scene, and relates the very same Story, as happening at *Tyre*; which is ridiculous: for the *Tyrians* were all either slain in the Siege, or sold for Slaves; and consequently, a King would have had but a solitary Reign there. *Plutarch* removes the Scene still further, and transfers the Story to *Paphos*, in his Treatise *De fortuna Alexandri*; to confute which, it is sufficient to assert, that, by the common Consent of all Authors, *Alexander* was never there. Vide *Snakenburg. ad Curt. lib. iv. cap. 1.*

for the King \* *Azelmicus* himself had embark'd, on board the Fleet, with *Autophradates*) commanded them to return, for he was determined shortly to enter the City, and there offer Sacrifice to *Hercules*.



## C H A P. XVI.

THERE was in that City a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*, the most antient of all those recorded in History; not the *Grecian Hercules*, who was the Son of *Alcmena*: For this *Hercules* was worshipped at *Tyre*, many Ages before *Cadmus* sail'd from *Phœnicia*, and seiz'd *Thebes*; and long before *Semele* was born to *Cadmus*, whence came *Bacchus* the Son of *Jupiter*. For *Bacchus* was the third from *Cadmus*, *Polydorus* being his Son, and *Labdacus*, who was Cotemporary with *Cadmus*, Son to *Polydorus*. But the *Grecian Hercules* flourished at the Time of *Oedipus* the Son of *Laius*. The *Egyptians* worshipped another *Hercules*, different from both these; and *Herodotus* assures us, he was one of their twelve Gods. The *Athenians*, in like manner, worshipped another *Bacchus*, different from this, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proserpina*, and the mystical Title of *Iacchus* belonged to this *Bacchus*, and not to the *Theban*. Nevertheless, the *Hercules*, worshipped among the *Iberians*, at *Tartessus*, who gave Name to *Hercules's Pillars*, is, in my Opinion, the same with the *Tyrian*: for *Tartessus* was built by the *Phœnicians*, and a Temple was

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\* *Curtius* seems not so much as to dream of a King of *Tyre*; but talks of the Citizens, all along, as if they had been a Commonwealth. However, *Diodorus*, to make them amends, has made them a King over a Heap of Rubbish. See *lib. xvii.*



rear'd there, and Sacrifices perform'd to *Hercules*, after the *Phœnician* manner. Moreover, *Hecataeus* the Historian assures us, that that *Geryon*, against whom the *Grecian Hercules* was dispatch'd by *Eurystheus*, to seize his Oxen, and bring them to *Mycene*, was no Inhabitant of *Spain*, neither was *Hercules* sent to any Island call'd *Erythia*, seated in the Ocean; but that *Geryon* reign'd on the Continent, between *Ambracia* and *Amphilochos*; that, from thence it was, that *Hercules* drew his Oxen; and even then he deems it a prodigious Labour. I am assured, that, to this Day, there are rich Pastures on that Continent, that fat Oxen are bred there, and that these being drawn thence by *Hercules*, the Glory of that Action was ascribed to *Eurystheus*; neither can I think it improbable to imagine, that a King of that Country might be named *Geryon*, especially because *Eurystheus* could never be supposed so much as to have heard of the Name of a King of *Iberia*, the remotest Nation in *Europe*, much less, whether any fat Oxen were to be had there, unless some have a mind here to introduce the Story of *Juno*, commanding *Hercules* to perform this Task for *Eurystheus*; which is no other than disgracing true History, by an unnecessary Mixture of Fable. *Alexander* sent word, that he would offer Sacrifice to this *Tyrian Hercules*, which when the Citizens understood, by their Embassadors, they thought fit to declare, that they were ready to perform whatever *Alexander* should command them, but that none, either <sup>1</sup> *Grecian* or *Macedonian*, should  
be

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<sup>1</sup> *Azelmicus*, King of *Tyre*, was absent, as has been already hinted, in the preceding Chapter; whereupon, the chief Citizens, or those on whom the Regency was conferr'd, during his Absence, dispatch'd an Embassy to *Alexander*, to assure him of their good Wishes, towards him; but when he sent them word of his Design to enter their City, and offer Sacrifice there, they thought it would be dangerous to their Liberties to suffer a King, with his Army, to come  
within

be admitted to enter their Gates ; that this ( considering their present State ) was the mildest Answer they should send him, and, considering the Chance of War, ( which was variable ) the safest for themselves. As soon as this Answer of the *Tyrians* came to *Alexander*, he commanded their Embassadors to return, in a great Fury ; and calling a Council of his Friends, and the Generals, and Captains of his Army, he harangued them thus.



## C H A P. XVII.

“ I CAN, by no means, deem it safe for us ( my  
 “ Friends and Companions ) to undertake an  
 “ Expedition into *Egypt*, while the *Persians* have  
 “ the Sovereignty of the Sea, nor to continue our  
 “ Pursuit of *Darius*, while *Tyre* remains unsubdued,  
 “ and our Enemies have *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in their  
 “ Possession. This I hold dangerous, in many re-  
 “ spects, but in none more than by reason of the  
 “ present State of *Greece*, lest if they should regain  
 “ their Sea-ports, while we are pushing on our Con-  
 “ quests against *Babylon* and *Darius* ; they, by the  
 “ help of their Fleet, should transfer the War into  
 “ *Greece*, ] especially, considering the *Lacedæmonians*  
 “ are already our open and declared Enemies, and  
 “ the *Athenians* retain their Fidelity towards us, at  
 “ this Juncture, rather out of Fear, than Love.  
 “ But when *Tyre* is taken, and all *Phœnicia* brought  
 “ into Subjection, the great and mighty Force of

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within their Gates. Perhaps also, they might be willing to see the Event of the *Persian* War, before they engaged themselves too far, on either Side. However, this Scruple of theirs, was the Cause of the Destruction of their City.

“ their

“ their Navy, which the *Persians* now enjoy, will,  
 “ in all probability, fall into our Hands. Neither  
 “ will the *Phanicians* suffer either their Rowers,  
 “ or Sea-Soldiers to hazard a Naval Engagement,  
 “ for other Nations, when we are Masters of their  
 “ Towns on the Continent. *Cyprus*, will then, either  
 “ join in Confederacy with us, or may easily be  
 “ reduced by a Fleet; and so scouring the Sea with  
 “ the united Force of the *Macedonians* and *Phœni-*  
 “ *cians*, and *Cyprus* being in our Hands, we shall  
 “ reign absolute Sovereigns at Sea, and an easy  
 “ Way will be laid open for making a Descent upon  
 “ *Ægypt*; and when *Ægypt* is added to our Em-  
 “ pire, we shall then cease to be solicitous about  
 “ the State of *Greece*, or our own domestick Af-  
 “ fairs: And as we may undertake the *Babylonian*  
 “ Expedition with more Security at Home, so we  
 “ may attempt it with much more Glory and Ho-  
 “ nour, when the *Persians* are removed from the  
 “ Sea-coasts, and chased out of all the Countries  
 “ on this Side the *Euphrates*.”



C H A P. XVIII.

BY this Speech, his Soldiers were easily induced to attempt the Siege of *Tyre*. But he was also encouraged by a <sup>1</sup> divine Vision; for that very Night,

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<sup>1</sup> Here, the Divinity is haul'd in, by Head and Shoulders, to countenance an idle Dream; and the Priest, as it was his Place, interprets it according to his Master's Fancy: However, I can give a better Solution thereof myself. *Alexander* had been affronted by the *Tyrians*, the Day before; and upon that, resolved to besiege their City: He had also determined to have offered Sacrifice to *Hercules*, within the City, but was denied Entrance. Full fraught with these Thoughts, he goes to Sleep, and as the Occurrences of the Day, or whatever

Night, as he seem'd to be scaling the *Tyrian* Walls, in a Dream, the Figure of *Hercules* reach'd forth his Right Hand to him, to draw him into the City. This was interpreted, by *Aristander*, to signify, that *Tyre* would be taken with abundance of Toil, and that the Siege thereof would be a *Herculean* Labour. And, surely, the Attempt itself seem'd to

whatever lie heavy upon our Spirits, either keep us awake, or prevent themselves to our Fancy, when asleep, he dream'd that he was scaling the Walls of *Tyre*, and that *Hercules*, to whom he design'd to have offered Sacrifice, lent him his Assistance. There is nothing in this, but what it is easy to account for, without Inspiration. *Curtius* has been so liberal, as to give us two real Prodigies, (not dreaming ones). He tells us, *lib. iv. cap. 2.* that while the Smiths, in the City, were heating their Iron in their Forges, and blowing their Bellows, Streams of Blood issued out of the Hearth.— This Miracle, if I mistake not, smells strong; and seems to have come out of the Priest's Forge, rather than the Blacksmith's.— However, as he has given the City one Prodigy, he is not so niggardly, but he can spare the Camp another; for, as one of the Soldiers was breaking a Piece of Bread, Drops of Blood burst forth.— As to the poor Citizens, they had no Interpreter for theirs; *Curtius* has not been so kind as to afford them one; and I cannot spare them one: but for the Camp, *Aristander* was always at hand: He, out of his great Wisdom, and profound Sagacity, inquired, first, “ whether the Blood came from the Outside, “ or Inside of the Bread; for if it came from the Outside, it portended Mischief to the Camp; if from the Inside, to the City.”— Had I been to have solved this mighty Doubt, I should have affirm'd, that the whole was a design'd Trick, and the Interpretation was fix'd before-hand; That if the Blood was on the Outside, it had been daub'd there on purpose; and if it came from the Inside, it was some red Liquor convey'd there, to flow out when the Bread should be cut or broken; and that it was only a Contrivance, like all the rest, to animate the Soldiery. *Plutarch* gives us a Dream of *Alexander's*, the Interpretation of which, depends upon a Pun in the Greek. “ *Alexander*, he says, dream'd that he saw a Satyr mocking “ him, at a Distance, and notwithstanding he endeavour'd to catch “ him, he still avoided him, till at last, after much Trouble, in running after him, he got him into his Power. Hereupon, the Soothsayers, splitting the Word *Σατυρ*®, into two, assured him, it import'd that *Tyre* was his own.”— If this was a divine Dream, the Deity was merrily disposed.

*M. Dacier*, in his Notes upon this Passage, tells us, That *Plutarch* as firmly believed it, as if he had been there, without imagining, in the least, that such Dreams are forged, when the Things to which they are made to relate, are over. *Dacier's Plut. Vol. vi. p. 41.*

threaten

threaten no less; for the City was seated in an Island, surrounded with strong Walls. And the Naval Affairs seem'd, at that Time, to favour them, the *Persians* being not only Masters at Sea, but the Citizens themselves having a strong and powerful Fleet. Notwithstanding these Difficulties, they were resolved to try their Fortune; and accordingly, their first Attempt was to extend a huge Bank, or Rampart, from the Continent to the City. The Sea there is a Clay, at the Bottom, and shallow towards the Shore; but when you draw nigh the City, it is almost <sup>2</sup> Three Fathom deep. But as there was abundance of <sup>3</sup> Stone not far off; and a sufficient Quantity of Timber and Rubbish, to fill up the vacant Spaces, they found no great Difficulty in laying the Foundations of their Rampart; the stiff Clay at the Bottom, by its own Nature, serving instead of Mortar, to bind the Stones together. The *Macedonians* shew'd a wonderful Forwardness and Alacrity to the Work; and *Alexander's* Presence contributed not a little thereto; for he design'd every thing himself, and saw every thing done, and

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 2. tells us, "the Sea which divided Tyre from the Continent, was exceeding deep, (*prealtum Mare*)."—This exceeding great Depth, *Arrian* assures us, was no less than Three whole Fathoms, or Eighteen Foot, close to the Walls, but nigh the Shore it was not near so much.

<sup>3</sup> The Rubbish of Old Tyre, Thirty Furlongs off, upon the Continent, *Curtius* tells us, afforded Stone enough for *Alexander* to build the Rampart, lib. iv. cap. 2. This is not improbable; but what he adds of fetching Timber from *Libanus*, must be a Mistake, unless he means *Anti-Libanus*, which begins nigh *Sidon*; for Mount *Libanus* begins near *Tripolis*, and is further distant from Tyre than *Anti-Libanus*, by the whole Breadth of *Cælosyria*. However, it seems *Alexander's* Soldiers deem'd the raising this Rampart an impossible Work; for *Curtius* assures us, "it was their Opinion, that the deep Sea could not be fill'd up but by a Miracle, and over which, a whole Province could scarce find Wood enough for a Bridge, or Stones enough to fill it up."—It had been done before by *Nebuchadnezzar*, Ezek. xxi. 18. without a Miracle; and the same Trouble, admitting no greater Opposition, would do it again.

encouraged some, who seem'd to slacken in their Work, and commended others, who proceeded in theirs, with Vigour, and were ambitious of excelling their Fellows. And indeed, so long as the Work was not far off the Continent, it went on, with a more than ordinary Speed; for they built the Mole in a small Depth of Water, and proceeded without Opposition: But when they came to a greater Depth, and approach'd nearer the City, they were gall'd with Darts, and other missive Weapons, from the high Walls, and sustain'd much Loss; being prepared rather for Work than Battle. The *Tyrians*, besides this, vexing them, on all hands, from their Ships, (for the Sea was yet open) made the mighty Work go on slowly, and with great Danger to the *Macedonians*. To prevent this, *Alexander* erected two wooden Towers on the <sup>4</sup> Rampart, where it was furthest extended into the Sea, and planted his Engines in them. Their Covering was of Leather, and raw Hides, so that they could not be burnt by fiery missive Weapons from the Walls, and might, at the same time, preserve the Workmen from their Darts; and not only this, but as often as the *Tyrians* gave them any Disturbance, from their Ships, they might beat them back from those Towers.

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<sup>4</sup> The Height of this Rampart, *Curtius* says, was like that of a Mountain. This is much like his other Hyperbole, of an exceeding deep Sea, where Three Fathom of Line would hardly reach the Bottom. A Mole or Rampart, Two or Three Foot above the Surface of the Water, was high enough. Now what a marvellous tall Mountain must this be, to exceed Twenty Foot in Height!





## C H A P. XIX.

THE *Tyrians*, not to be behind-hand with their Enemies, made use of this Contrivance: They procured a huge <sup>1</sup> Hulk, or Ferry-boat, which they fill'd up with dry Twigs, and other combustible Stuff, and having placed two Masts towards the Prow, and made their Piles as broad, and capacious as possible, they added huge Quantities of Pitch and Sulphur, and whatever was proper to raise a great Fire. Moreover, to each Mast, they fix'd two Yards, at the Arms or Extremities of which, were hung Caldrons, fill'd with whatever might add to the Violence of the Flame; they afterwards fill'd the Stern, with Stones and Rubbish, that the Head might be raised the higher. Then, taking the Opportunity of a favourable Wind, blowing towards the Mole, they fix'd two *Triremes* to her, and tow'd her into the Sea. When they approach'd the Towers, at the End of the Mole, they set fire to the Materials on board the Hulk, which they forced forwards, to the Mole-Head, with their utmost Strength; and the Rowers, on board, easily escaped, by swimming. In the mean time, the Towers having caught Fire, begun to blaze exceedingly; and the Yards of the Hulk breaking, what-

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<sup>1</sup> See the Description of this Vessel, in *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 3. He calls her a monstrous huge Ship, and yet allows her neither Masts, nor Yards. *Arrian* calls his, Ναῦς Ἰπποπόδον, a Ship design'd for the Conveyance of Horses. They fix'd Masts in her, such as were fit for their purpose, and furnished her with Yards, whereat they hung two Caldrons, full of combustible Stuff, which falling, when the Masts grew too weak to hold them up, increased the Flames exceedingly.

ever was contained in the Caldrons, which hung there, increased the Flames. The *Tyrians* also, in their *Triremes*, cast their Darts upon the *Macedonians* in the Towers; so that they could not move to extinguish the Flames, but with the utmost Hazard. When the Towers had now catch'd Fire, many of the Citizens, getting on board small Skiffs, attack'd the Mole in several Parts at once, and the Wall which faced the Rampart being soon demolished, all the rest of the Materials which the Fire from the Ships had not yet reach'd, were now consumed. *Alexander*, upon this, laid the Foundation of a Rampart, from the Continent, much broader, and stronger than the former, and capable of containing more Towers; and, at the same time, gave Orders to his Engineers to prepare new Engines. Which, being performed, <sup>2</sup> he, with his Targeteers and *Agrians*, march'd to *Sidon*, with an Intent to seize upon all their Ships; because the Siege of *Tyre* was a Matter of extream Difficulty, while the Citizens were so potent at Sea.



## C H A P. XX.

**A**BOUT this Time, <sup>1</sup> *Gerostratus* King of *Arados*, and *Enylus* King of *Byblus*, being assured that their Dominions were possess'd by *Alexander*,  
left

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 3. says, *Alexander* march'd into *Arabia*, (that is, against those *Arabians* who inhabited Mount *Anti-libanus*, not far from *Sidon*) before the ruining of the first Rampart. *Arrian* contradicts him, and gives his Reasons. I shall leave the Decision of the Affair, to my Reader's Judgment.

<sup>1</sup> The Name of *Gerostratus* is no other than the Elder *Siratos*; so that *Curtius*, in his making *Siratos* King of *Aradus*, might be right;



left *Autophradates*, and his Navy; and each, with his own Fleet, came, and submitted themselves to him; and with them came also the *Sidonian Triremes*: So that he had now near Eighty *Phœnician Ships* in his Power. At this Juncture, several *Triremes* came to his Assistance from *Rhodes*, one of which was, by way of Excellency, call'd *Peripolos*; and with her, were Nine more. From *Soli*, and *Mallos*, arrived Three; from *Lycia*, Ten; from *Macedon*, One with Fifty Oars, commanded by *Proteas* the Son of *Andronicus*; and soon after, the Kings of *Cyprus*, (having received Intelligence of the *Persian* Defeat at *Iffus*, and terrified with the News that all *Phœnicia* had submitted to the Conqueror) arrived at *Sidon*, with a Navy of One hundred and twenty Ships. *Alexander* granted them a general Pardon for all past Offences, because they had not join'd their Fleet with the *Persians*, out of Choice, but Necessity. In the mean time, while the Engines were preparing, and the Ships fitting out, as well to attack the City, as for a Sea-Fight, *Alexander*, with some Troops of Horse, and Targeteers, besides Archers and *Agrians*, made an Excursion into *Arabia*, to the Mountain call'd *Anti-Libanus*; and, having reduced the Country thereabouts, partly by Force, and partly by Composition, at the End of ten Days, he returned to *Sidon*; where <sup>2</sup> *Cleander* the Son of *Polemocrates*, who was newly arrived from *Peloponnesus*, met him with Four thousand *Greek Mercenaries*: His Fleet being now ready, and a sufficient

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right; but then he certainly ought to have inform'd us, that he himself was absent, and his Son (whom he mentioned there as King) deputed Regent, or something to that purpose. However, 'tis a little strange, that he should mention but Two Kings, instead of Three, and give both their Names wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* says, *Cleander* came, with his Recruits, to *Alexander* at *Tyre*. *Arrian* is more exact, and assures us, he met the King at *Sidon*, and accompanied him, from thence, to the Siege of *Tyre*.

Number of Targeteers taken on board, (unless a Sea-Fight should happen rather with Ships than Men) he set Sail from *Sidon*, and, with a choice-Army, hasted towards *Tyre*, himself being on the Right Wing, which was stretch'd forth to Seaward, and with him, were the *Cyprian* Kings, (and all the *Phœnicians*) except <sup>3</sup> *Pnytagoras*; for he, and *Craterus* brought up the Left Wing. The *Tyrians* had, at first, resolved upon a Sea-Fight, if *Alexander* should attempt to bring a Fleet against them: but when they saw such a prodigious <sup>4</sup> Naval Force, far beyond what they expected, (for they had not yet heard that all the *Cyprian* and *Phœnician* Fleets were in his Hands) and those ready to make a Descent, with a choice Army, (for a little before they came near the City, the Ships, on the Right Wing, stood out to Sea, but the *Tyrians* not coming forth to meet them, they received contrary Orders, and with all their Force, steer'd directly thither) then the *Tyrians* begun to lay aside all Thoughts of a Sea-Engagement, and only studied how to block up the Mouths of their Harbours, with as many *Triremes* as they could contain, that the Enemies Fleet might not be able to force an Entrance into either of them. *Alexander*, perceiving that the *Tyrians* came not forth to meet him, sailed still nearer the City; but durst not attempt to make his way into the Haven towards *Sidon*, because of the Narrowness

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* mentions *Pnytagoras* as if he had been sole Monarch of *Cyprus*. *Arrian* only talks of him here, as King of Part of that Island; and he is certainly right: for *Pliny* reckons Eight Kings who reign'd there besides.

<sup>4</sup> His whole Naval Force, according to *Curtius*, *lib. iv. cap. 3.* consisted of One hundred and eighty Sail of Ships; but he never mentions what they were. *Arrian* has been abundantly more accurate in his Account, and by giving us the Number, each Nation furnished him with, makes the whole Sum amount to Two hundred and twenty-four. *Plutarch* tells us only, that the Haven of *Tyre* was block'd up, by *Alexander*, with Two hundred *Triremes*.

of its Entrance, which was also obstructed by many Ships, whose opposite Prows he could easily discern: Three of those Ships, posted at the Extremity of the Passage, the *Phœnicians* attack'd with their arm'd Prows, and immediately sunk; but the Sailors who were on board, easily escaped, by swimming, to their Friends. Then *Alexander* drew his Fleet ashore, near the new Mole, which he had built, to preserve them from the Danger of Storms; and the Day after, commanded *Andromachus* Captain of the *Cyprian* Navy, to block up the Haven towards *Sidon*, and besiege the City on that Side. The *Phœnicians* were order'd to lie over-against the Haven, on the other Side of the Mole, which looks towards *Ægypt*, where, also he fix'd his Royal Pavilion.



C H A P. XXI.

MANY Engineers were, now, assembled from *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and many warlike Engines prepared, some whereof were planted upon the Rampart, others on board the Hulks, which were brought from *Sidon*, and others on the Decks of such of their Ships, as were the slowest Sailors. All Things thus in Readiness, he instantly proceeded to batter the Walls, as well from the Ships, as the Rampart. The *Tyrians* who were posted on the Walls, opposite to the Enemies Batteries, built Towers of Wood, wherein they placed themselves, to annoy the Besiegers, and from whence, if the Engines assaulted them, on any Side, they might defend themselves with Darts, and cast their missive Weapons, bearing Fire at their Points, into their very Ships, endeavouring by that means to deter the *Macedonians*

from approaching. The Wall, opposite to their Mole, was nigh <sup>1</sup> One hundred and fifty Foot high, with a Breadth proportionable, and built with vast Stones, strongly cemented together. The <sup>2</sup> Hulks, and *Triremes*, which should have advanced with the Besiegers Engines, against the Walls, could not approach there, because the huge Stones which the *Tyrians* continually cast down into the Sea, hinder'd their Access. *Alexander*, however, took care to clear the Passage, by drawing the Stones out of the Sea, which was a Work of great Difficulty, especially since it was to be perform'd out of their Ships, where no such firm Footing was to be had, as on Shore. Some *Tyrians*, then, in close Vessels, made towards their Ships, and cutting the Cables, which held them, entirely deprived them of all Power of assaulting them, that Way. *Alexander* seeing this, dispatch'd some close Ships, of Thirty Oars each, to cast Anchor there, and repel the *Tyrians* in theirs. But neither could this take Effect; for the *Tyrians*, being expert Divers, slid, secretly, out of their Vessels, and again cutting their Cables, set their Ships a-drift. The *Macedonians* then used Chains, for Ca-

<sup>1</sup> The Number, here, must needs be erroneous, tho' all the Copies of *Arrian*, which I have seen, have it the same. *Curtius* tells us nothing of their Height, only he says, the Citizens built them an inner Wall, for fear the first should give way to *Alexander's* Battering-Engines. But as we never hear that this inner Wall gave him any Trouble to gain it, we may, with good reason, affirm, no such Wall was ever built.

<sup>2</sup> Had the Sea been of such a vast Depth as *Curtius* has already told us, the Citizens must have cast in monstrous Stones indeed, and vast Quantities of them too, to have hinder'd *Alexander's* Vessels from approaching: But *Arrian* has assured us, that the Sea was no where above Eighteen Foot deep thereabouts; and such a Depth might easily be so choak'd up with Stones and Rubbish, as to hinder their Approach close to the Walls. However, after *Curtius* had told us of the prodigious Depth of Water, it would have been Non-sense in him to have touch'd upon this Story, for which Reason he has wisely omitted it,

bles, to secure them from the Danger of Divers. The Stones which the Citizens had cast into the Sea, were drawn up with Ropes, and thrown into a deeper Place, at a Distance, that they might no more hinder their Access; and this huge Bank of Stones thus clear'd away, the Ships easily approach'd the Wall.



C H A P. XXII.

**T**HE <sup>1</sup>*Tyrians*, seeing themselves reduced to such great Streights, resolv'd to attack the *Cyprian* Squadron, posted at the Mouth of the Haven, which looks towards *Sidon*; and having, before that Time, spread Sails across the Mouth of the Haven, that their Ships, fill'd with Soldiers, might not be discover'd by the Enemy; about Noon, (at which Time the *Macedonian* Sailors were usually busied about their private Affairs, and *Alex-*

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<sup>1</sup> This whole Chapter, *Curtius* has either left out, or given some of the Particulars, in Terms so dark and general, that 'tis as hard, as useless, to understand him: But to make amends for this Omission, he obliges us with the Story of a Whale, *Book iv. Chap. 4.* which, he assures us, with his usual Confidence, appear'd between the *Macedonian* Fleet and the Town.— Whether any Whales are ever seen in those Seas, I know not; neither do I much care. If Whales are common thereabouts, and one was seen, by both Parties, there was no Wonder in it at all. Bodies of so huge a Size, are not easily hid. I have heard of a Tub thrown out, for a Whale to play withal; but never, before, of a Whale sent for a Couple of Armies to play withal. Had this Whale dropt from the Clouds, and come flying over the City, among the *Macedonian* Fleet, I should have deem'd it worthy a Place in History, and it might have pass'd for a good tolerable sort of a Prodigy. As it is, there is nothing strange in the Story, and I cannot tell which were the greatest Fools, the *Tyrians*, and *Macedonians*, for taking Notice of it as a Prodigy; or *Curtius*, for allowing it a Place in his History.

*ander*, had retired from his Fleet, to his Pavilion, on the other Side of the City) with five choice *Quinqueremes*, as many *Quadriremes*, and seven *Triremes*, fill'd with expert Rowers, and resolute Soldiers, well arm'd for Fight, and inured to the Sea, rowed out slowly, and silently, one by one, against the Enemy: But when they advanced within Sight of the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great Shout, and clashing of their Oars, they attack'd their Fleet. But it happen'd that Day, that *Alexander* having retired, as usual, to his Pavilion, tarried there but a short time, and return'd to his Fleet. The *Tyrians* assaulted the Enemies Ships all on a sudden, when some were entirely empty, and others, by reason of the Noise and Violence of the Attack, were surprized unprepared for Resistance. *Pnytagoras's* *Quinquereme* was sunk at the first Onset, with another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathusian*, and *Pasicrates* the *Thurian*; others were forced on Shore, and beat to pieces. *Alexander* hearing of this Excursion of the *Tyrian Triremes*, immediately order'd as many Ships as he could spare, and were well arm'd, to block up the Mouth of the Haven, and thereby hinder the rest of the *Tyrian* Fleet from coming forth. He then, with the *Quinqueremes* which he had ready, and five *Triremes*, well prepared, sailing round the City, hasted to attack the *Tyrians*. The Besieged seeing this from the Wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himself there, endeavour'd, by loud Cries, to recall their Men, who were on board; and when their Cries, by reason of the Tumult, could not be heard, they made several Signals for them to return, because the Enemy was at hand: but finding, too late, that *Alexander* was upon them, they turn'd their Sails, and hasted to the Haven; yet few of them could save themselves by Flight; for *Alexander's* Ships sailing in, suddenly, among them, render'd some unfit for sailing; and one

one *Quinquereme*, and a *Quadrireme*, were taken at the very Entrance of the Port. The Slaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, because as soon as they perceived it impossible to save their Ships, they escaped into the Harbour by swimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* Fleet would be unserviceable, moved their Engines up to the Walls. Those which advanced on the Side towards the Rampart, did no Execution, by reason of the Firmness of the Wall there. Others moved some Hulks with Engines, to that Quarter of the City which looks towards *Sidon*. But when they found their Endeavours there, fruitless, sailing along the whole South Part of the Wall towards *Egypt*, they tried to batter it every where: And there, indeed, by the Violence of their Attacks, it was at first shaken, and afterwards beat down, and demolished. Whereupon, they immediately mounted the <sup>2</sup> Breach, by the help of their Ladders, and begun to storm the Place: but the *Tyrians*, without any great Difficulty, repuls'd them.



C H A P. XXIII.

THE third Day after this, the Sea being perfectly calm, <sup>1</sup> *Alexander* having call'd his Captains together, and encouraged them to fight, caused

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* does not so much as hint at any Assault of the City, before the last, and general one.

<sup>1</sup> By *Curtius*'s Description of this general Assault, as he calls it, one would really imagine *Alexander* had storm'd and taken the Town himself, and that all his Soldiers had been little more than idle Spectators of his martial Prowess. 'Tis true, he says in general, " That

caused his Batteries to be advanced to the Walls, a great part whereof fell down at the first Shock of their Engines; and when he perceived that the Breach was wide enough, he order'd the Hulks, which bore the Engines, to retire, and other two, with the Scaling-Ladders, to advance, that they might enter the Town over the Ruins of the Wall: One of these had the Targeteers on board, commanded by *Admetus*; the other, the auxiliary Troop of Foot, commanded by *Cænus*; himself, with the Targeteers, standing ready to mount the Walls, on the first Opportunity. He order'd some *Triremes* to block up both Havens, and, if possible, while the *Tyrians* were busy in defending themselves elsewhere, to enter by Force; and as many of his Ships

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“ a Breach was made in the Walls, and many of *Alexander's* Soldiers enter'd the Haven:”— Tho' after this, he tells us not a Word, where the Breach was made? who made it? who enter'd by it? nor what Execution they did? And as for those who enter'd the Haven, he gives us no Account, whether they enter'd on Foot, or on Horseback; nor do we learn from him, of any thing they did, only, “ Some of them mounted the Walls, which the *Tyrians* had deserted,” *lib. iv. cap. 4.* However, to shew us he is an impartial Historian, he has made the Citizens full as great Cowards, and as unactive as the others can be, for their Lives; for he adds, “ That this Success, (namely, their scaling the Walls, and breaking into the Haven) struck the *Tyrians* with great Amazement, and all begun to provide for their Safety. (He ought to have said, They begun to neglect the general Safety, and each to consult his own in particular.) “ Some, he adds, took Sanctuary in their Temples; “ others barricaded their Doors; and many resolv'd to sell their Lives “ as dear as they could. Some got up to the Tops of their Houses, “ and threw Stones and Rubbish down on their Enemies. Hereupon, “ *Alexander* caus'd Proclamation to be made, that he would put all “ to the Sword who were not found in their Temples; and immediately order'd the Houses to be set on fire. Thus many perished, “ for the Temples were filled with Women and Children, and every “ Man stood in his own Defence, at his Door.”— This is the most romantick Account of the sacking of a City, I ever read, and such a one as, I dare say, none besides *Curtius*, ever wrote: but as he design'd not his Work so much for Instruction, as Amusement, he thought any Stuff, in florid Language, would go down with his Readers.



as carried the shooting Artillery, or were built close, for the Convenience of Archers, he commanded to sail round the Wall, and assault it where-ever they could, and where they could not, to keep, at least, within Reach of their Darts: and this he did, that the *Tyrians*, finding themselves press'd on all Hands, might be confounded, and unable to defend their City. The Ships being now drawn up, close to the Walls, and the Ladders fix'd, the Targeteers, headed by *Admetus*, valiantly mounted the Breach; and it was not long before he was seconded by *Alexander*, who was always present, where Danger call'd, and a constant Encourager and Rewarder of Valour, in others. The Wall was taken, and enter'd on that Part where *Alexander* made the Assault; and the *Tyrians* being beat back, the *Macedonians* found firm Footing. While *Admetus*, who first mounted the Breach, was exhorting his Soldiers to follow his Example, he was thrust thro' with a Spear, and died: but *Alexander*, with his Men, mounting at the same time, kept their Ground. Some Towers being then seiz'd, with the whole Space between them, he march'd directly from the Wall towards the Royal Palace, because the Descent into the City that Way, seem'd the most easy and agreeable.



C H A P. XXIV.

THOSE, then, who were order'd to block up the Haven looking towards *Ægypt*, with the *Phœnicians*, making a sudden Attempt upon it, broke the Chain, and attack'd the Ships in the Haven: some floating on the Water, were sunk; others running on Shore, were beat in pieces. The *Cyprians* also broke into the Haven towards *Sidon*,  
and

and enter'd the City on that Side. The *Tyrians* seeing their Walls in the Enemies Possession, retired thence, in a Body, to the *Agenorium*, (a Place so call'd) where they rallied, and drew up, against the *Macedonians*: But *Alexander*, with his Targeteers, hasting to the Place, kill'd many, and put the rest to flight. A great Slaughter also happen'd at the Haven, where *Canus* and his Forces enter'd the City; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the Citizens, partly for holding out the Place so long, and partly because they having seiz'd some of their Men, sailing from *Sidon*, first hoisted them up aloft upon their Walls, in Sight of their Friends, and afterwards stabb'd them, and threw their Bodies into the Sea. About <sup>1</sup> Eight thousand *Tyrians* were slain. <sup>2</sup> Of the *Macedonians*, besides *Admetus*,

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* mentions only Six thousand; but he adds, that Two thousand more were nailed to Gibbets, in Rows, on the Shore. Some Editions of *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 4. 15. Ed. *Snakenburg*. tell us, "That the *Sidonians* who enter'd the Town, calling to mind that "Tyre and *Sidon* were both built by *Agenor*, and, of consequence, that "the *Tyrians* sprung from the same Stock with themselves, found "means to convey Fifteen thousand of them on board their Ships, "and save them from the Ruin of their Fellow Citizens."—This is a very improbable Story; and as neither *Arrian* nor *Diodorus* have one Word like it, nor any Author I can meet with, I am apt to suspect, that *Curtius's* Humanity, for once, got the better of his Honesty. However, some of our later Editors of *Curtius*, finding the Number Fifteen thousand too many, to be thus secretly convey'd away, have retrench'd it to Five thousand. Of this Opinion was *Glaucanus*, tho' *Raderus* thinks the former Number, in such a Hurry, and where so many Ships were at hand, is not improbable.—I can say nothing to it, only had there been any Truth in it, I can never imagin that *Arrian*, who is every where so accurate, would have omitted so memorable a Story.

<sup>2</sup> We have no Account given us, by *Curtius*, what Number of *Macedonians* perished in this Siege: And truly, the Numbers we have, are so vastly disproportionable, that they plainly shew to which Party we owe the Records, or Memoirs, from whence all these Histories were compiled. *Justin*. lib. xi. cap. 10. contrary to all other Authors, affirms, that *Tyre* was taken by Treachery. *Ælian* reports, that it was won by Stratagem. *Polynus*, that it was carried by Storm.

who

who first enter'd the Breach, and took Possession of the Wall, about Twenty Targeteers fell in that Assault; and during the whole Siege, about Four hundred. They who had fled to the Temple of *Hercules*, (being some of the chief *Tyrian* Nobility, besides King *Azelmicus*, and <sup>3</sup> some *Carthaginian* Priests, who, according to antient Custom, were sent to their Mother City, to offer Sacrifices to *Hercules*) had the Benefit of a free Pardon. The rest, to the number of Thirty thousand, including Strangers, were sold for Slaves. *Alexander*, after this, offer'd Sacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole Army assisted; the Navy also perform'd a Part in the Solemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnick* Sports, in *Hercules's* Temple, which was then finely illuminated. The Engine, wherewith the Wall was demolished, he placed there, as an eternal Monument of his Victory: And the *Tyrian* Ship, consecrated to *Hercules*, which he had taken, in a Sea-fight, he caused to be hung up there, with an Inscription, which, whether compos'd by himself, or any other, as it contains nothing worth Notice, I have deem'd it unworthy to be communicated to Posterity. And thus was the City of *Tyre* taken, in the Month *Hecatombaion*, when <sup>4</sup> *Anicetus* was Archon at *Athens*.

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* has contriv'd a strange Story here, *lib. iv. cap. 3. 19.* of Thirty *Carthaginian* Embassadors, who came rather to condole the Condition of the *Tyrians*, than to give them Relief; for they, he says, "brought Word, that the *Syracusians* were at that Time, destroying *Africa* with Fire and Sword, and were encamp'd not far from the Walls of *Carthage*."—These were lying Embassadors, and 'tis pity but *Alexander* had rewarded them. The *Syracusians* are never known to have besieged *Carthage* but once, and that was under the Command of *Agathocles*, long after *Alexander's* Time. See *Justin. lib. xxii. cap. 6.* There were indeed some Commotions in *Africa*, about that Time, but the *Syracusians* had no Share in them. This Error in *Curtius* is confuted by *Raderus*, and his Censure is confirm'd by *Freinshemius*. *Rheineccius* has also noted it, in his 2d Tome, *De Carthag. Republicâ*.

<sup>4</sup> This happen'd in the first Year of the 112th Olympiad, the 23d Year of *Alexander's* Age, and the third of his Reign.



## C H A P. XXV.

WHILE *Alexander* was yet besieging *Tyre*, Embassadors arrived from *Darius*, telling him, That *Darius* would bestow upon him ' Ten thousand Talents of Silver, if he would set his Mother, his Wife, and Children at Liberty; as also all the Country between the *Euphrates* and the *Hellepont*; and if he would take his Daughter in Marriage, he should be stiled his Friend, and Confederate. Which Embassy being debated in Council, *Parmenio* is said to have told him, That if he was *Alexander*, he would accept the Terms; and, when the End of War was gain'd, no longer tempt the Hazard thereof. To which the other is said to have reply'd, So would he, if he was *Parmenio*; but as he was *Alexander*, he must act worthy *Alex-*

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* takes no Notice of the Ten thousand Talents which *Darius* here promises to *Alexander*; but he has contrived a Letter, in *Darius's* Name, to *Alexander*, which, had that young Monarch seen, and could have laid Hands on the Author, I dare engage he would have cropt his Ears close to his Head. He makes *Darius* quite forget his Mother, Wife, and Children, which were the principal Subject of his former. His Tone is now changed, and he talks of nothing but "giving *Alexander* a Wife, with all the Country between the *Halys* and the *Hellepont*, for a Dowry."—*Vide lib. iv. cap. 5.* But what Conditions he expected for all this, the Author tells us not. However, one may reasonably suppose it was, to be left in quiet Possession of the rest. But yet, the Letter is wrote so wildly, and he treats *Alexander* so like a Child, that the World may easily perceive it was penn'd by one who had little Knowledge of Mankind. I wish I had room to animadvert a little upon it, and its ranting Answer; but as Mr. *Le Clerc* has taken some Pains with it, in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work, I shall pass both that, and the Answer, by, without further Notice.

*ander.*

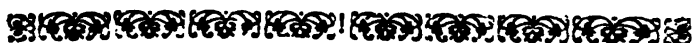
ander. He therefore answer'd the Embassadors, That he neither wanted *Darius's* Money, nor would accept of Part of his Empire, instead of the Whole; for that all his Treasure, and his Country, was his: That he would marry his <sup>2</sup> Daughter, if he pleas'd, without his Consent: But if he had a mind to try his Humanity, let him come to him. This Answer being carried to *Darius*, and he, despairing of Peace, made fresh Preparations for War. *Alexander* then resolv'd upon an Expedition into *Ægypt*, all the Cities of that Part of *Syria*, call'd *Palestine*, being surrender'd peaceably into his Hands, except *Gaza*, which was kept by a certain Eunuch, named <sup>3</sup> *Batis*, who, foreseeing this, had already hired many Troops of *Arabians*, and laid up vast Stores of Provisions, to serve for a long Siege. He also intirely trusted to the Strength of the Place, which he look'd upon as impregnable; for which Reason, he was resolv'd, that whenever *Alexander* approach'd, he should be denied Entrance.

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<sup>2</sup> That he might easily do; for he had her safe in his Camp, and her Mother too.

<sup>3</sup> He is call'd *Betis* by *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 6, 7. and *Babamefes* by *Josephus*, lib. xi. cap. 8. *Curtius* takes no Notice of his hiring any Troops to help him to hold out the Place. All he says is, that the City was of a large Compass, and tho' there was in it but a small Garrison, yet was the Governor a Man of approved Loyalty to his Prince.





## C H A P. XXVI.

**G** A Z A is only twenty Furlongs distant from the Sea-shore, and exceeding difficult of Access, because of the Depth of the Sand, and the neighbouring Sea, which is, every where, shallow. The City itself is large, and populous, seated on a high Hill, and furrounded with a strong Wall. It is also the last inhabited Place which Travellers meet with, in their Way from *Phœnicia* to *Ægypt*, and borders upon a vast Desert. *Alexander*, immediately after his Arrival there, encamp'd over-against that Part of the Wall, which seem'd most subject to an Assault, and order'd his Engines to be brought thither; and notwithstanding it was the Opinion of some of his Engineers, that the Wall was not possible to be taken by Force, by reason of the Height of the Bulwarks, he thought fit to declare his Sentiments to the contrary; and that the more difficult the Attempt was, it was the more necessary to be undertaken; for that the very Suddenness and Briskness of their Assault, would strike their Enemies with no small Terror. He added, that if he was unable to reduce the City, it would abundantly redound to his Dishonour, when the News should be carried to *Greece*, as well as to *Darius*. He therefore order'd a Rampart to be run round it, of such a Height, that the Engines placed thereupon might be upon a Level with the Top of the Wall: Which Rampart he then built over-against the South part of the Wall, because it seem'd, there, the least difficult to be assaulted. And when the Work was now brought to its full Height, the *Macedonian* Engines were immediately placed thereon.

About

About this time, as *Alexander* was sacrificing, with a Crown of Gold upon his Head, according to the Custom of *Greece*, and just entering upon the Office, a certain <sup>1</sup> Bird of Prey, hovered over the Altar, and let fall a Stone from his Claws, upon his Head. *Alexander* immediately sent to consult *Aristander* the Soothsayer, what this Prodigy could portend: Who return'd Answer, "Thou shalt indeed take the City, O King; but beware of Danger from thence, on the Day it is taken." He hearing this, retired out of the Reach of their Darts, to the Engines on the Rampart.

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has made a mighty Miracle of this; and it would be a Miracle indeed, if it were true.—"While *Alexander* was sacrificing," says he, *lib. iv. cap. 6. 11.* a Raven flew over his Head, and upon it let fall a Clod, which she held in her Claws; the Clod broke, and the Bird alighted on the next Tower, which being daub'd with Bitumen and Sulphur, her Wings were so entangled therewith, that she could not escape, but was taken by those who stood near."—*Plutarch* has told this Story somewhat different: He says, *Vita Alex. apud Steph. p. 16.* "The Clod fell upon the King's Shoulder; after which, the Bird settling upon one of the Battering-Engines, was suddenly entangled, and caught, in the Nets which protected the Ropes wherewith the Engine was managed."—This is much more probable than the other Account; for I would ask, in the first place, What Tower that was, whereon the Bird was said to perch? It could be none of those upon the Town-Walls, because *Alexander's* Soldiers took the Bird, and they were too high for them to scale; and besides, the daubing their Battlements with Pitch and Brimstone had been ridiculous: So that it must necessarily be one of *Alexander's* moving Towers of Wood. But then, the Question will be, What could induce *Alexander* to daub them with Pitch and Sulphur? I hope none will say, that was done to prevent their being set on fire by the Enemy: And I am sure it could be done with no Design of setting fire to the Town; they never being used for any such purpose. Some profound Criticks therefore, to save *Curtius's* Reputation, have changed the Words *Bitumine & Sulphure*, and very cunningly read *Alumine & Pulvere*, Dust and Allum, not only because of the near Affinity of the Words, but also as they are of use to resist Fire. But how could any daubing of Dust and Allum catch a Raven?—*Arrian*, undoubtedly, thought that this Story smelt strong, and therefore cut it off short; and indeed this must be said in his Praise, he seldom spins a Lye out to any great Length.



## C H A P. XXVII.

**B**UT ' when *Alexander* saw the *Arabians* make a furious Sally out of the City, and set fire to the Engines, and, having the Advantage of the higher Station, gall the *Macedonians* below, and beat them from the Rampart which they had built; then, either forgetful of the divine Warning, or moved with the Danger of his Soldiers, he called his Targeteers together, and hasted to succour the *Macedonians*, where they were most exposed, and by his Presence kept them from betaking themselves to flight, and abandoning the Rampart; but while he was thus pushing forwards, an Arrow, from an Engine, pierced his Shield and Breastplate, and wounded him in the Shoulder; which, when he perceived, and thereby knew that *Aristander's* Prediction was true, he rejoiced, because, by the same Prediction, he was to take the City, notwithstanding that Wound was not cured, but with much Difficulty. In the mean time, other Engines, which

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<sup>1</sup> We have a long Story in *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 6. 15, &c. Edit. *Snakenb.* of " an *Arabian* Soldier, who seeming to desert from the Town, came to *Alexander*, and fell at his Feet; whereupon the King raised him up, and order'd he should be kindly received: but the Villain arising, struck boldly at his Throat, with a Sword, which he had hid under his Shield. But he avoided the Danger, by bending his Body a little, and lifting up his Sword, cut off the Traitor's Hand." *Hegesias Magnes* tells us, " that the Villain conceal'd not his Dagger under his Shield, but beneath the Skirts of his Coat of Mail; and that *Alexander* did not chop off his Hand, but gave him his Death's Wound by a Cut over the Head." — *Vide Curtium. Var. p. 172.* Which of these two, is in the right, I shall not determine; only as no other Authors have hinted at the Story, it is not impossible they may be both false, and the whole an Imposition.



had been used at the Siege of *Tyre*, arriving by Sea, he order'd the Rampart to be run quite round the City, <sup>2</sup> two Stadia in Breadth, and Two hundred and fifty Foot in Height. The Engines then being prepared, and planted thereupon, the Wall was vehemently shaken, and the Miners, in many Places, working privately underneath the Foundations thereof, and conveying the Rubbish away, it fell down. The Besiegers then plying the Citizens with their Darts, beat them out of their Towers; yet thrice they sustain'd the *Macedonian* Shocks, with the Loss of abundance, slain and wounded: But at the fourth Attack, when *Alexander* had call'd his Men thither, he so levell'd the <sup>3</sup> Wall, which had been undermined, in some Places, and widen'd the Breaches made by the Engines in others, that it seem'd then a matter of no Difficulty to the *Macedonians*, to fix their Ladders to the Ruins thereof, and storm the City. As soon as the Ladders were fix'd, there arose a great Emulation among the Besiegers, who should first mount the Breach: This Honour was gain'd by *Neoptolemus* of the Race of the *Æacida*, one

<sup>2</sup> Εἴςθ' ἐς δύο σταδίας, ὅψθ' δὲ ἐς πένδς πενήκοντα δὲ διακοσίς. These Numbers must certainly be erroneous: What Height the Walls of *Gaza* were of, we nowhere read. *Curtius* tells us of a Rampart thrown up, which equall'd the Walls in Height, *lib. iv. cap. 6. 21.* But that gives us no Assistance in the present Case: So that we must be forced to let the Matter rest, till we can, by some other Manuscript Copies of *Arrian*, find where the Mistake lies.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 6. 22.* tells us, the Inhabitants built an inner Wall, to secure themselves, of equal Height with the outer one. Of what Service these inner Walls were, we need not inform our Readers; only I cannot forbear taking notice, that this is not the first time, he has put himself to the Expence of running up an inner Wall, when, in all probability, the Citizens never had any such Thought; for, as well at *Tyre*, as here, when the outermost Wall gave way, and was scaled, we never read, either in *Curtius*, or any other Author, that the *Macedonian* Soldiers found an inner one: From whence we may rationally infer, that if they did run up an inner Wall, it was made of Butter, or such like Stuff, and probably the Sun, in so hot a Climate, might melt it down, and save the *Macedonians* the Trouble of planting their Battering-Rams against it.

of his Friends; and after him, other Captains, and others, still enter'd with their Forces: and when many of the *Macedonians* were now within the Walls, they forced open the Gates, one after another, and gave Entrance to the whole Army. \* The Citizens, notwithstanding they saw the Place thus taken by Storm, were resolv'd to fight to the last; and gathering together in a Body, every one lost his Life where he stood, after a brave Resistance. *Alexander* sold their Wives and Children for Slaves; and a Colony being drawn thither from the Neighbourhood, the City was afterwards made use of as a Garrison.

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\* *Arrian* has given us no particular Account of the Number of Citizens slain; only he says, they fought desperately, and sold their Lives dearly. *Curtius* affirms, that Ten thousand fell. *Hegeſias* says, only Six thousand. *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* received a Wound, or Bruise, on his Leg, by a Stone: But this I imagine a Mistake; for *Plutarch* in his Treatise *De Fortuna Alexandri*, says, the Bird already mentioned let the Clod fall upon his Foot; whereas he had before alledged, that it fell upon his Shoulder. If the Reader compares *Arrian's* whole Account of this Siege, with *Curtius*, he will easily perceive which is the most probable.





*A R R I A N*'s  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
ALEXANDER'S Expedition.

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B O O K III.

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C H A P. I.



ALEXANDER continued his Journey into *Ægypt*, as he had first propos'd, and on the seventh Day after his Departure from *Gaza*, arrived at *Pelusiæ*. His Navy, which had sail'd from *Phœnicia*, he found there, in the Haven. In the mean while, *Mazaces* the *Persian*, whom *Darius* had appointed Governor of *Ægypt*, being assured of the sad Defeat at *Iffus*, and of *Darius's* Flight; as also that *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*, and a great Part of *Arabia*, had already submitted to the Conqueror; as he had no Army to defend himself, order'd that *Alexander* should be friendly received into the ' Cities of that Province. Having

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' *Curtius* tells us, *Mazaces* there, deliver'd to *Alexander* Eight hundred Talents of Silver, and all the Royal Furniture, *lib. iv. cap. 7. 4.*

therefore placed a Garrison in *Pelusium*, and order'd his Ships to sail up the River *Nilus*, he set out for *Heliopolis*, having the River on his Right Hand; and, receiving as many Towns, as lay in his Way, into his Protection, he pass'd thro' the Desarts to *Heliopolis*; and then, crossing the River, came to *Memphis*, where he offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, but especially to *Apis*: and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Musical* Sports, at which all the most excellent Combatants of *Greece* were present. From *Memphis*, he sail'd down the River, to the Sea, where he order'd his Targeteers, and Archers, and *Agrians*, besides his Royal Cohort of Horse, on board his Ships; and when he had pass'd by the City *Canopus*, and sail'd round the Lake *Marias*, he pitch'd upon the Place where <sup>2</sup> *Alexandria* now stands; and that Situation seeming to him very convenient for a City, he even then presaged, that it would become rich and populous. Being therefore fired with the Thoughts of this Undertaking, he laid the Foun-

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<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* and *Arrian* acquaint us, that *Alexander* caused the Foundations of this City to be laid, before his Expedition to the Temple of *Hammon*. *Diodorus*, *Curtius*, and *Justin* mention it as done after his Return from thence. The Reader may take which Opinion he pleases. However, I cannot forbear mentioning a remarkable Difference between *Curtius* and *Plutarch*. *Curtius* tells us, *lib. iv. cap. 8. 1.* "That *Alexander*, at his Return from *Hammon's* Temple, viewing the Island *Pharos*, admired the Pleasantness thereof, and resolv'd to build a City in it; but, upon second Thoughts, he found it not large enough to contain one answerable to the Greatness of its Founder; whereupon he mark'd out a Place for a City, where *Alexandria* now stands, &c." — On the contrary, *Plutarch*, in *Vita Alex. p. 16.* assures us, "That *Alexander* resolv'd to build a large City in *Ægypt*, and to give it his own Name; in order to which, after he had measured and staked out the Ground, he chanced, one Night, to see a strange Vision: A grey-headed old Man, of a venerable Aspect, (*Homer*) seem'd to stand by him, and commanded him to build the City he had intended, in the Island *Pharos*." — So that here is a manifest clashing between these two Authors; which I shall leave to the Criticks to reconcile, at their Leisure. Both of them, it is certain, cannot be in the right; tho' it is not impossible but both may be in the wrong.

dations

datations of a City, pointed out the Place where the *Forum* should be built, gave Orders where the Temples should be rear'd, and how many, as also which should be dedicated to the Gods of *Greece*, and which to the *Egyptian Isis*; and lastly, shew'd what should be the Circuit of the Walls: and when he had consulted the Gods upon this Subject, by Sacrifices, the Omens promised Success.



C H A P. II.

THERE is a Story told concerning this, which seems not improbable, (*viz.*) That when *Alexander* had a mind to mark out the Ground for the Walls, and had nothing ready, fit for that Purpose, one of his Workmen advised him to gather in all the ' Meal, which his Soldiers had in their Stores, and strow it upon the Ground, where the Foundations of the Walls should be drawn. His Sooth-sayers, and particularly *Aristander the Telmissean*,

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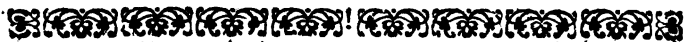
<sup>1</sup> *Marcellinus, lib. xxii. cap. 40.* tells us, they design'd to have mark'd out the Foundations of the Walls with Chalk, but having none among them, they were forced to make use of Meal, or Flower, instead thereof: The same says *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*. However, *Curcius*, in opposition to every body else, must make a Miracle of it; and a mighty one it is. He adds, " That 'tis a Custom of the *Macedonians*, to strow the Foundations of the Walls of a new City with soden Barley, *lib. iv. cap. 8. 6.* — No Author, besides himself, ever mentions any such Custom; — " which, when *Alexander* perform'd, " certain Birds came and devour'd it. — This, all deeming a bad Omen, " the Priests, — *Plutarch* says, *Aristander*, — look'd upon it as a good " one." — If it was true, I cannot think there was any thing extraordinary in it at all. The Place they had mark'd out was between a huge Lake, and the Sea; and whether Meal or *stew'd* Barley was strow'd, it is no wonder that vast Numbers of Birds mould flock to a Place, where they perceived such Plenty of Victuals,

who had already given him many true Predictions, viewing this, is said to have prophesied, That it would be bless'd with Plenty of all Things necessary for Life, but especially the Fruits of the Earth. About this Time, arriv'd *Ægelochus* in *Ægypt*, with some Ships under his Command, who acquainted *Alexander*, that the Inhabitants of the Island *Tenedos* had revolted to him, from the *Persians*, with whom they had unwillingly enter'd into a Confederacy; as also, that the Inhabitants of *Chios* had withdrawn themselves into the City, for Safety, because of the Tyranny of those whom *Pharnabazus* and *Autophradates* had appointed to govern them; that *Pharnabazus* himself was seiz'd in that City, and committed into Custody, and with him, *Aristonicus*, Governor of *Metbymna*, who, coming into the Port, with five Piratical Vessels, and not knowing it was in the Citizens Hands, but imagining that the Fleet, set to guard the Entrance thereof, belong'd to *Pharnabazus*, the Ships were all seiz'd, and the Pyrates put to Death; that he had brought to him the said *Aristonicus*, with *Apollonides* the *Chian*, and *Pbisnus*, and *Megareas*, chief Authors and Encouragers of the Revolt to the *Persians*, and who, till that Time, had usurp'd an arbitrary Sovereignty over the whole Island: that *Mitylene*, which *Chares* had seiz'd into his Hands, was recover'd; and that all the rest of the Towns of the Island *Lesbos* had voluntarily surrender'd to him; that *Amphoterus*, with a Fleet of Sixty Ships, had been sent into the Island *Coos*, at the Request of the Inhabitants, and that he, sailing that Way, and understanding that the Island was possess'd by *Amphoterus*, had received the Captives on board, and convey'd them all thither, except <sup>2</sup> *Pharnabazus*, who had deceived his Keepers,

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* quite forgets this Circumstance of *Pharnabazus* deceiving his Keepers, and making his Escape.

and made his Escape out of the City. *Alexander* order'd those arbitrary Governors of Cities to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Citizens, over whom they had tyrannized, to be used at their Discretion; only *Apollonides* the *Cbian*, and his Companions, were convey'd, under a strict Guard, to *Elephantines*, a City of *Ægypt*.



### C H A P. III.

**A**BOUT this Time, *Alexander* had an Ambition of visiting the Temple of *Jupiter* *Hammon* in *Lybia*, and of consulting his Oracle, (which was said to foretel Events, with an Exactness beyond all others) because *Perseus* and *Hercules* had, aforetime, consulted that God, the first, when he was dispatch'd by *Polydectes* against the *Gorgons*, the latter, when he travell'd into *Lybia* against *Antæus*, and into *Ægypt* against *Busiris*; for as *Alexander* deduced his Pedigree from both of them, he was ambitious of arriving at a Pitch of Glory, equal to either of them; for he boasted of his Rise from *Hammon*, the *Lybian Jove*, as *Perseus* and *Hercules* are said to have boasted of theirs, from the *Grecian Jove*. He therefore undertook this Expedition to the Oracle, <sup>2</sup> that he might be certified of the Success

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<sup>1</sup> Some Authors derive the Name of *Hammon* from *ἄμμον*, which signifies *Sand*, the Temple of that God being seated in a sandy Desert; but others, with much more Probability, derive it from *Cham*, or *Ham*, the second Son of *Noah*, who, with his Posterity, settling in those Parts, was, in process of Time, worshipped as a God. *Curtius* mentions no Reason which induced *Alexander* to visit this Temple, besides his own Ambition.

<sup>2</sup> *Maximus Tyrius*, *Orat.* 25. acquaints us, that *Alexander* ask'd the Oracle no Questions, except about the Heads of the River *Nile*.  
However

cess of his future Undertakings, or at least that he might boast of being so. He travell'd at first, say: *Aristobulus*, along the Sea-shore, to *Paratonius*, thro a Country altogether waste, but not ill water'd, the Space of <sup>3</sup> One thousand and six hundred Stadia, and thence took his Course into the Midland Country, where stands the Temple of *Hammon*, famous for Oracles. The Road is desert throughout, and, in most Parts, not only cover'd with a deep Sand, but destitute of Water. But a plentiful Shower, falling from Heaven, as he was travelling, was ascribed to a divine Power, as was also this. As often as the South Wind blows there, it overwhelms the whole Country, with huge Quantities of Sand, so that all the Marks of former Paths are cover'd, and the Traveller is as much at a Loss whither to direct his Course, amidst these Sands, as if he were at Sea; for no Marks, or Signs of a Road, then appear, not a Mountain, nor a Tree, nor so much as a Hillock, from whence Passengers might discover their right Path, as Seamen do theirs, from the Stars. *Alexander's* Army wander'd out of the Way, in those Deserts, and even their Guides were uncertain how to give Directions. *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* reports, that two Dragons, at that Time, pass'd along before the Army, with a great Noise,

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However that was, he certainly wrote to his Mother *Olympias* afterwards, that he was persuaded he had found them out. See *Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Strabo* assures us, that from *Paratonius* to the Temple of *Hammon*, is One thousand and three hundred Stadia:— So that from the Lake *Marias*, or the present *Alexandria*, to the Temple of *Hammon*, by Way of *Paratonius*, is Two thousand and nine hundred Stadia, or Three hundred and sixty-two *English* Miles. *Pliny* reckons it twelve Days Journey from *Memphis* to *Hammon's* Temple. *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 526, 527. assures us, that *Alexander* travell'd along the Deserts eight Days, the first four of which, he made use of Water, which they carried upon the Backs of Camels; afterwards, he and his Train were refreshed with Showers from the Clouds; and lastly, they were conducted to the Temple, by Ravens.

and



and that *Alexander* order'd his Captains, to rely on the Prodigy, and follow them: He also adds, that they conducted them safe to the Seat of the Oracle, and convey'd them back again. But *Aristobulus*, (and even common Fame) relates the Matter otherwise, (*viz.*) That two <sup>4</sup> Ravens flew before the Army, and were their Guides in that Expedition. I am fully persuaded, that *Alexander* was conducted by some divine Power, as appears by all Relators; but the Diversity of Opinions, among Authors, has obscured the Truth of this Story.



#### C H A P. IV.

**T**HE whole Region round the Temple of *Hammon*, is no other than a huge thirsty Waste, or wide-extended Defart; near the Middle Part, or Center whereof, is a Space included in small Bounds, (for where it is broadest, it scarce exceeds forty Furlongs) curiously planted with Olive-Trees, and Palm-Trees, and water'd with Dews, which fall no where else in all that Country.

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<sup>4</sup> *Arrian's* doubt of the Truth of either of these two pretended Prodigies, appears by his citing both, and afterwards leaving the Matter in Suspence. *Curtius* is not so squeamish, but declares, point blank, for the latter; only to shew he is no Niggard, in what costs him nothing, instead of two Crows, or Ravens, for their Guides, as other Authors have it, he has generously bestow'd a whole Flight upon them, *lib. iv. cap. 7. 15.* and besides, his Crows were so very complaisant, as first to fly to meet them, then to fly before the first Ranks, to shew them the Way, and sometimes to alight on the Ground.—— No doubt the poor Birds were glad to walk a little way on Foot, now and then, to ease their Wings.—— And so they seem'd to guide them, till they arrived at the Temple.—— What Reader soever does not relish this, ought not to have true History thrown away upon him.

A Fountain also has its Rise here, different in its Nature and Properties from all the Fountains upon Earth: For at Mid-day, it is cool to the Taste, but to the Touch intensely cold; towards Evening, it begins to be warm, which Warmth increaseth, by degrees, from thence, till Midnight; after Midnight, it waxes cool, by little and little; in the Morning it is chilly, at Noon excessive cold; and it receives all these various Alterations regularly every Day. This Country naturally produces a kind of fossile Salt, which, being put into little Boxes of Palm-Tree, some of the Priests of *Hammon* carry into *Agypt*, and bestow on the King, or some Great Men, as a Present. It is dug out of the Earth, in large oblong Pieces, (some above three Fingers in Length) transparent like Crystal. This kind of Salt, the *Aegyptians*, and other Nations, who are curious in their Worship, use in their Sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from Sea-water. *Alexander*, being surprized at the Nature of the Place, consulted the Oracle, and

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\* As soon as *Curtius's* Crows had perform'd the Office of *Jove's* Gentlemen-Ushers, by conducting *Alexander* and his Attendants to the Temple, that Author proceeds to give us a romantick Account of the delightful Situation of the Place: then he goes on to the Geographical Part, and points out to us the Situation of the Countries round it: In all which, I may safely affirm, there is scarce one just Sentence, nor one true Word. But the Errors in that Place, being expos'd in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work, I shall pass them by here. His Description of the Fountain of the Sun, differs not much from *Arrian's*. He then passes on to describe the Image of *Jupiter*, or rather, the Figure which was worshipp'd as a God, wherein, tho' he differs from most Authors, he has powerful Advocates; and the Reason of the Difference seems to be, because he means one thing, and they another, and his Readers have not understood him. His next Work is to tell us, that the eldest Priest met *Alexander*, and saluted him with the Title of Son, affirming, that *Jove* his (*Alexander's*) Father, had given such Orders. Now *Plutarch*, *Vit. Alex.* p. 18. *H. Steph.* says, it was the Opinion of some Authors, that this was no more than a Blunder of the Priest, who, not understanding Greek, saluted *Alexander* with *Paidios*, instead of *Paidion*: Now *Paidion*, (as perhaps

and having received an acceptable Answer, (as himself told the Story) return'd to *Ægypt*, the same Way he went, as *Aristobulus* has it; but, according to *Ptolomey*, a much nearer, leading to *Memphis*.

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perhaps the Priest design'd it) signifies *my Son*, but *Pai Dios*, in two Words, as *Alexander* divided it, signifies *Son of Jupiter*. However, after all, I am of their Opinion, who think that *Alexander* play'd the same Prank with *Hammon* here, as his Father *Philip* [did with *Apollo* at *Delphos*, which made *Demosthenes* cry out, that *Apollo Philippiz'd*, that is, spoke what *Philip* had order'd him: So here, I fancy, *Alexander* had corrupted *Jupiter's* Priests, and such Answers were at his Service, as they knew would please him best; an Instance of which, we may soon perceive; for *Curtius* proceeds to tell us, *lib. iv. cap. 7. 26.* that *Alexander's* first Question to his Father *Jupiter* was, Whether he had destin'd him to be Emperor of the whole World? The Priest, in *Jupiter's* Name, replied, That all the World should acknowledge him their Emperor.— This, with all due Submission to *Jupiter*, and his Priest, was false; for he never conquer'd all *Arabia*, nor half *India*, nor a quarter of *Scythia*, nor a tenth Part of *Africa*, nor a hundred Part of *Europe*. He had but just heard of the *Romans* increasing Power, and begun to have an itching for a Tryal of Skill with them; and *Livy* seems to be of Opinion, they would have beat him. However, his Death decided the Controversy, without Blows. — The second Question which *Curtius* acquaints us, he ask'd, was, Whether all his Father's Murderers had suffer'd Punishment? To which (after a few trifling Hesiations of the Priest, between his Father *Hammon*, and his Father *Philip*) he received an Answer in the Affirmative. — This was as great a Falsity as the other; for besides *Alexander* himself, and his Mother *Olympias*, who were strongly suspected, *Alexander Lyncestes* was then alive, whom all knew to have been guilty, and all Authors agree in it. The King had him in Custody, at that Time, but was not willing, perhaps, to lay that to his Charge, whenever he should think fit to take him off. But, after all, perhaps both these Questions may be of *Curtius's* own Contrivance, or of the Authors from whom he copied, or, which is more likely than either, of the flattering *Greeks* in *Alexander's* Train. Of this Opinion is *Strabo*, who acquaints us, *lib. xvii. p. 1168.* that none but the King was suffered to enter the Temple, in his own Robes, and that none besides the King was allowed to approach the Oracle, who usually gave Responses by Nods and Signs. *Arrian* gives us no Account what Questions he ask'd, nor what Answers he received; probably because he much doubted the Truth of them, and knew them to be liable to numberless Exceptions.



## C H A P. V.

WHEN he was arrived at *Memphis*, he received sundry Embassies from *Greece*, and dismiss'd none of them, without granting their Requests. A Body of Four hundred new-rai'd mercenary Troops was also sent thither, from *Greece*, by *Antipater*, under the Command of *Menetas* the Son of *Hegeſander*; besides another of Five hundred Horſe, from *Tbrace*, under the Command of *Asclepiodorus* the Son of *Eunicus*. At this Place, he ſacrificed to *Jupiter*, walk'd in martial Pomp, at the Head of his Army, and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Muſical* Sports. Afterwards, reſolving to ſettle the Affairs of *Ægypt*, he appointed Two of their own Nation their Preſidents, (*viz.*) *Doloaspis*, and *Petiſis*, between whom he divided the whole Country; but *Petiſis* declining his Charge, the whole devolved upon *Doloaspis*. The Governments of particular Garrifons he beſtowed on his Friends: That of *Memphis*, upon *Pantaleon* the *Pydnæan*; *Peluſium*, upon *Polemon* the Son of *Megacles* the *Pellæan*. The Command

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\* The ridiculous Account of the Situation of *Memnon's* Palace, is ſufficiently expoſed by *M. Le Clerc*, in the Criticiſm prefix'd to this Work. I ſhall now only add, that *Curtius* has contracted the Contents of this Chapter into the Compaſs of a Nut-shell, inſomuch that I can bring the whole into one ſhort Note. "The King, ſays he, *lib. iv. cap. 8. 4.* made two Governors of *Ægypt*, *Æſchylus*, a *Rhodian*, and *Peuceſtas*, a *Macedonian*. He left *Polymenes* to defend the Mouths "of the River *Nile*, giving to the firſt Four thouſand Men, and to "the latter Thirty Ships." — This is abridging with a Vengeance: Who, by reading his Account, would not immediately conclude, that all the Affairs of *Ægypt* had been committed to theſe Men? *Arrian* has given us a clear and diſtinct Account thereof, and he needs only be read, to ſhew us the Defect of the other.

of the foreign Troops he gave to *Lycidas* the *Ætolian*: The Secretaryship of the same, to *Eugnoftus* the Son of *Xenophantus*, one of his Friends; and over these, he placed *Æschylus*, and *Ephippus* the *Chalcedonian*. The Government of the hither *Lybia*, he conferr'd on *Apollonius* the Son of *Carinus*. That Part of *Arabia*, adjacent to *Heroopolis*, on *Cleomenes* the *Naucratian*, with Orders that the chief Men of his Province should live according to their antient Laws, and enjoy their Liberties, and he should only take care to collect the Tribute which *Alexander* commanded them to pay into his Hands. The Forces which he left behind him in *Ægypt*, were under the Command of *Peucestas* the Son of *Marcatatus*, and *Balacrus* the Son of *Amyntas*. The Fleet under *Polemon* the Son of *Tberamenes*: And, in the room of *Balacrus*, who was one of his Body-Guards, he nominated *Leonnatus* the Son of *Onasus*; for *Arrybas* was already dead, as was also *Antiochus*, Captain of the Archers, who was succeeded by *Ombrion* the *Cretan*. *Calanus* was appointed Captain of the Companies of Foot, (which were left in *Ægypt*) instead of *Balacrus*. *Alexander* is said to have divided the Country into so many Governments, because, considering the Nature of the Inhabitants, and the Strength of the fortified Towns, he thought it unsafe to commit the Government thereof to any single Person. And in this particular piece of Policy, the *Romans* seem to have copied after him, who would allow no Senator, but one of the Equestrian Order, to be sent Proconsul into *Ægypt*.





## C H A P. VI.

**I**N the Beginning of the Spring, *Alexander* set out on his March for *Phœnicia*, and having laid Bridges over the *Nilus*, and all its Trenches, near *Memphis*, he came to *Tyre*, where he met his Fleet, and again sacrificed to *Hercules*, exhibiting the usual Sports. At this Place, arrived a Ship from *Athens*, with <sup>†</sup> *Diophantus* and *Achilles* their Embassadors, and all the Inhabitants of that Coast join'd in their Request: *Alexander* granted them their Desires, and thereupon, order'd all the *Athenian* Citizens, who were taken Prisoners at the Battle of *Granicus*, to be set at Liberty. And hearing that some Com-motions were risen in *Peloponnesus*, he dispatch'd *Amphoterus* thither, to assist those, in that Country, who, throughout the whole *Persian* War, had op-posed the *Lacedæmonians*; Having therefore order'd the *Phœnicians*, and *Cyprians*, to fit out a Hundred Ships more, besides those design'd for *Amphoterus*, and the *Peloponnesians*; he himself march'd into the Inland Parts, to *Tbapsacus*, and the River *Euphrates*, having deputed *Cæranus* the *Berræan* to gather the Tributes in *Phœnicia*, and *Philoxenus* in *Asia*, on this Side the Mountain *Taurus*; but the Money he had in his own Custody, he committed to the Charge of *Harpalus* the Son of *Machatas*, who was newly return'd from Exile, and now sup-

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<sup>†</sup> *Curtius* joins this Embassy of the *Athenians*, with those of the *Grecians*, as tho' they had happen'd at the same Time and Place, *lib. iv. cap. 8.* whereas the contrary appears from *Arrian*; for the *Grecian* Embassadors came to him at *Memphis*, but those from the *Athenians*, met him at his Return to *Tyre*.

ply'd their Places. This *Harpalus*, for his Fidelity to *Alexander*, while *Philip* yet possess'd the Throne, was forced to quit *Macedonia*, as also did *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and *Nearchus* the Son of *Andro- tinus*, and *Erigyus* the Son of *Larichus*, and his Brother *Laomedon*, all at the same Time, and for the same Cause. For *Alexander* begun to fall under the Suspicion of his Father *Philip*, after he had divorced his Mother *Olympias*, and taken *Eurydice* to Wife. But after *Philip's* Death, when they, who fled for *Alexander's* sake, return'd, he promoted *Ptolemy* to be one of his Body Guards; to *Harpalus*, being unable to endure the Fatigues of War, he committed the Charge of his Treasure; *Erigyus* was made Captain of the Royal Cohort of Horse; and his Brother *Laomedon*, because he was skill'd in two Languages, was appointed to preside over the Barbarian Captives; *Nearchus* was constituted Governor of *Lycia*, and all the adjacent Countries, as far as Mount *Taurus*. However, a little while before the Battle of *Iffus*, *Harpalus* was deluded by one *Tauriscus*, a wicked Man, and fled away with him; This *Tauriscus* passing over into *Italy* to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, there ended his Life. But *Harpalus*, when he got to *Megara*, being persuaded by *Alexander* to return, on a Promise that his Flight should not be to his Prejudice, return'd, and was not only received into Favour, but again preferred to be Keeper of his Treasures. *Menander*, one of his Friends, was appointed Governor of *Lydia*; and *Clearchus* succeeded him, in the Command of the foreign Troops. Instead of *Arimmas*, *Asclepiodorus* the Son of *Eunicus* was made Governor of *Syria*, because *Arimmas*, in making Preparations for the Army, which accompanied him to the Eastward, seem'd to aim at Sovereignty.



## C H A P. VII.

**I**N the Month *Ecatombaion*, *Aristophanes* being Archon at *Athens*, *Alexander* came to the City *Thapsacus*, where he found a broken Bridge, and *Mazeus*, to whom *Darius* had committed the Care of this Pass, with Three thousand Horse, Two thousand whereof were Greek Mercenaries, lay ready to dispute his Passage: And as one continued Bridge did not extend to the further Bank, the *Macedonians*, at first, were afraid lest *Mazeus's* Soldiers, on the other Side, should repair it, and attack them. But *Mazeus* no sooner received Intelligence of *Alexander's* Approach, than he abandon'd the Place, and drew off all his Forces. After his Flight,

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<sup>1</sup> Here are two or three Errors in *Curtius* together; for, first, he tells us, *lib. iv. cap. 9. 7.* " that *Satropates* was sent before, with a Thousand choice Horse, and afterwards *Mazeus*, with Six thousand more, to hinder *Alexander* from passing the *Euphrates*. Then he adds, " that *Alexander*, having laid a Bridge over the River, &c." — As to the first Point, who this *Satropates* was, is not known, no mention being made of him elsewhere. *Freinshemius* thinks, it may be only a Corruption of *Atropates*, and that this may be the same Person, whom *Strabo*, and *Arrian* make Governor of *Media*; but here he is overseen; for *Curtius* kills his *Satropates*, towards the Conclusion of the very same Chapter, and *Arrian's* *Atropates* made *Alexander* a Present of an Hundred Women, attired like *Amazons*, at his Return to *Ecbatana*, after his *Indian Expedition*. — See *Arrian, lib. vii. cap. 13.* No Man can be reasonably said to be alive, so long after he is really dead. Secondly, that *Mazeus* had Six thousand Horse, *Arrian* denies, and allows but Three thousand in all; Two thousand of whom, were Greek Mercenaries. Thirdly, *Alexander* did not lay a Bridge over the River: There had been a Bridge always there, and there was one then, but it was broke. — Perhaps *Mazeus* broke it, when he resolv'd to abandon the Pass: — So that *Alexander* had it but to repair. *Curtius* is not so kind, as to acquaint us, where *Alexander* pass'd the *Euphrates*. *Arrian* assures us, it was at *Thapsacus*.

*Arrian.*



*Alexander*, having repair'd the Bridge, pass'd over, with his whole Army. Thence, he march'd into the Country call'd *Mesopotamia*, having the River *Euphrates*, and the Mountains of *Armenia*, on his left Hand: From *Euphrates*, he took his Way towards *Babylon*, but not by the direct Road, because another, was not only more convenient for the drawing up his Army, but afforded greater Plenty of <sup>2</sup> Forage, and all other Necessaries; and besides, the Heats were not so excessive, in the Countries thro' which he was to pass. Whilst he was upon this Expedition, some of *Darius's* Spies, wandering far from his Camp, were taken, who gave him Intelligence, that *Darius* had encamp'd on the Banks of *Tygris*, and was resolv'd to obstruct his Passage over that River; as also, that he had a more numerous Army than that wherewith he fought in *Cilicia*. *Alexander* hearing this, immediately directed his Face thither; but when he arrived at the Place, he neither found *Darius* himself, nor any Garrison left behind him; wherefore, he pass'd the <sup>3</sup> River, with Difficulty enough, by reason of the Rapidity of the Stream, tho' there was no Enemy to interrupt him. There, he rested a while, with his Army. At this Time, happen'd a great Eclipse of the Moon; whereupon *Alexander* offer'd Sacrifices to the Moon, the Sun, and the Earth, by which, Eclipses are said to be caused; and was assured by *Aristander*, that this Eclipse of the Moon, portended Happiness and Success to him, and his

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. iv. cap. 9.* that *Mazæus* had set all the Country on fire; and that, perhaps, may be one Reason why *Alexander* took this round-about Way.

<sup>3</sup> We have a long Story in *Curtius*, about his passing this River, tho' the whole is nothing to purpose; for he concludes, by saying, "He lost not a Man in passing it, and only some Baggage," *lib. iv. cap. 9. 22.* Afterwards, he gives us a false and incoherent Description of an Eclipse of the Moon, which has been taken notice of, and examined, in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

*Macedonians*; that a Battle would be fought in that very Month, and that the Intrals promised him the Victory. Having therefore decamp'd from thence, he led his Forces thro' *Affyria*, having on his Left Hand the <sup>4</sup> *Sogdian* Mountains, and the River *Tygris* on his Right; and on the fourth Day after, he was inform'd, by some of his Spies, that some Troops of the Enemies Horse appear'd in the Fields, but they were not able to discover their Number. With a choice Army, therefore, he proceeded to give them Battle, but was soon met by other Spies, who had gone further in their Search, and brought him a more certain Account, and they assured him, that the whole Number of the Enemies Horse, then in Sight, was not above One thousand.



## C H A P. VIII.

ALEXANDER hearing this, immediately march'd forwards, taking with him his Royal Cohort, and another, call'd the Auxiliaries, with the *Pæonians* for the forlorn Hope; the rest of his Army having Orders to march a slow Pace after. The *Persian* Horse, perceiving their Enemies rush

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<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* calls these, the *Gordyaan* Mountains; which must be false; for none, besides himself, ever placed them nigh *Arbela*; and his Authority, especially in Geography, will never go down, without chewing. The Mountains, which *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* call by that Name, belong to *Armenia*, and, as *Alexander's* Soldiers were passing along the *Tygris*, must have been behind their Backs. *Arrian*, who calls them the *Sogdian* Mountains, must also be mistaken; for the Country of *Sogdia* was at too great a Distance. See *Tellier's* Notes on *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 40.

in among them, betook themselves to Flight, but *Alexander* pursued them; and those, whose Horses failed them, were ' slain; the rest escaped, tho' some, with their Horses, were taken Prisoners: From those, he had Intelligence, that *Darius*, at the Head of a huge Army, was not far off: For the *Indians* adjacent to *Bactria*, as also the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, all under the Command of *Bessus*, Governor of *Bactria*, had come to his Aid: The *Sacæ* also, a Colony of the *Scythians*, inhabiting *Asia*, had join'd him; these were not subject to *Bessus*, but in Confederacy with *Darius*: the Captain of those, was *Mabaces*, and they were all Equestrian Archers. <sup>2</sup> *Barsaetes* Governor of the *Arachoti*, brought thither his *Arachoti*, and Indian Mountaineers. *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, arrived with his *Arians*. *Phrataphernes* with his *Parthians*, *Hyrcanians*, and *Topireans*, all Horse. *Atropates* led thither the *Medes*, with whom were join'd the *Cadusians*, *Albanians*, and *Saceffinæ*. <sup>3</sup> *Orontobates*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Orxines*, came with Succours from the Countries near the Red Sea. The *Uxians*, and *Susians* were led thither by *Oxathres* the Son of *Abulitus*; the *Babylonians* by *Bupares*. The *Carians*, who had been driven from their Country, and the *Sitacini*, were join'd with the *Babylonians*. *Orontes* and *Mithraustes*

<sup>1</sup> As *Curtius* has given us a General, whom none mentions, besides himself; so he takes care not to let him lie too long upon our Hands; for he assures us, *lib. iv. cap. 9. 25.* "that he was thrust thro' the Throat, by *Arifon* Captain of the *Pæonians*, who cut off his Head, and laid it at *Alexander's* Feet." — This may be true, but it looks much like Romance.

<sup>2</sup> This *Barsaetes* is afterwards call'd *Barzaentes*, and once or twice *Brazas*; which last is a vast Corruption: The second is the true Reading.

<sup>3</sup> He is call'd *Orobates* by *Curtius*, *lib. iv. cap. 12. 8.* who adds, *Alia gentes ne sociis quidem satis nota sequebantur.* These must be strange Nations indeed, whom their next Neighbours did not know. If their Neighbours did not, who should? But, perhaps, they were Nations of *Curtius's* own hatching; and if so, it is a mighty Question, whether they knew themselves.

headed the *Armenians*: *Ariaces* the *Cappadocians*. The *Cælofyrians*, and Inhabitants between the two Rivers, were conducted thither by *Mazæus*. *Darius's* whole Army was said to consist of <sup>4</sup> Forty thousand Horse; a Million of Foot; Two hundred hook'd Chariots, and about Fifteen Elephants, which arrived from the Parts beyond the River *Indus*. With these Forces, *Darius* encamp'd at *Gaugamela*, upon the Banks of the River *Bumadus*, about Six hundred Stadia distant from *Arbela*, in a Country every where open and champain; for whatever Inequality was in the Surface of the Earth thereabouts, and whatever, it was deem'd, could be any Impediment to the <sup>5</sup> arm'd Chariots, was all

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius*, in giving us the Number of this Army, differs not only from all other Authors, but manifestly contradicts himself. He tells us, it consisted of Forty-five thousand Horse, and Two hundred thousand Foot, *lib. iv. cap. 12. 13.* He had told us before, *lib. iv. cap. 9. 3.* that this Army was more numerous, by almost half, than the former, which *Darius* had in *Cilicia*; and we may easily gather, from *lib. iii. cap. 2.* that the Army in *Cilicia* consisted of Sixty-one thousand two hundred Horse, and Two hundred and twenty thousand Foot, besides Thirty thousand Mercenaries; which is more, by almost a third part, than the other. To remedy this remarkable Absurdity, the *Geneva* Edition, 1618. has given us the Number, One hundred forty-five thousand Horse, and Six hundred thousand Foot; but without any Authority. However, other Authors differ strangely: *Justin*, *lib. xi. cap. 12.* reckons them a Hundred thousand Horse, and Four hundred thousand Foot. *Orosius*, *lib. iii. 17.* a Hundred thousand Horse, and Four hundred and four thousand Foot. *Diodorus*, *lib. xvii. 39. & 53.* Two hundred thousand Horse, and Eight hundred thousand Foot. And *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander*, tells us, the Number of Horse and Foot together, made up a Million. These prodigious Differences, 'tis impossible to reconcile. However, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, and *Arrian*, vary not much; only I am apt to suspect *Arrian's* τετρακισμυείας, for Forty thousand Horse is an inconsiderable Number, to a Million of Foot.

<sup>5</sup> *Curtius* has taken a great deal of Pains, to describe these arm'd Chariots, which the *Persians* used in Battle, but to so little purpose, that the Author of the *Delphini* Notes, tells us plainly, he neither understood the Authors he copied from, nor what himself wrote. *Vide Notas ad lib. iv. cap. 34.* See more of this, in the Criticism prefixed to this Work.

entirely

entirely 'levell'd by the *Persians*, and made commodious for them to wheel round upon. For *Darius* was persuaded, by some of his Followers, that the Defeat at *Iffus* was chiefly occasion'd by the narrowness of the Place of Encampment; and this he easily believed.



C H A P. IX.

WHEN all these Things were told *Alexander*, by the *Persian* Spies, which he had taken, he tarried four Days, in the very Place where he heard the News, to give his Army some Refreshment, after the Fatigues of a long March. He then surrounded his Camp with a Ditch, and Rampart, resolving to leave there all the Baggage, as also the Soldiers, who were unfit for a present Engagement; that he, with those who were stout and hearty, might rush upon the Enemy, clogg'd with no other Incumbrance, than that of their Armour. Having, therefore, drawn out his Forces, he begun his March, about the second Watch of the Night, that he might be ready to attack the *Persians* by Break of Day. As soon as *Darius* was acquainted with *Alexander's* Approach, he instantly set his Army in Battle-Array; and *Alexander* did the same,

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<sup>6</sup> *Darius*, as *Curtius* has told us, *lib. iv. cap. 9. 10.* had given Orders for the whole Field of Battle to be levell'd: but afterwards, that Author falls into a strange Error, by placing *Maxcus*, with a Party, upon a Hill, to discover the Enemies Motions, *lib. iv. cap. 12. 18.* and then, he says, the *Macedonians* seiz'd it; but they could not perfectly discover the Numbers of the *Persians* from thence, because of the Mists, which arose among the Mountains. — Sure he had lost his Senses in a Fog, or he would never have been guilty of such Absurdities.

on his part. Their Camps were then about Sixty Stadia distant from each other, neither were they yet come within Sight of each other; for some small Hillocks, lying in the Middle, hinder'd them. But when *Alexander* had advanced, with his Army, almost Thirty Stadia, he arrived at these Hillocks, where, having a full View of the *Barbarians*, he order'd them to halt, and calling a Council, consisting of his Friends, and the Generals of his Forces, the Prefects of Troops, and the Captains of his *Grecian*, and foreign Auxiliaries, he consulted with them, whether the Army should immediately proceed, from their present Station, and enter upon an Engagement, (which was the Opinion of the greatest part) or whether (as *Parmenio* better advis'd) they should, for a while, pitch their Tents there, and thoroughly survey all the circumjacent Parts, to prevent Ambuscades, and see if the Enemies Camp was strengthen'd by a Ditch, or if any ' Galtraps, or other Impediments, lay in their Way; and lastly, that they should more curiously and diligently examine the present Disposition of the Enemies Army. This Advice of *Parmenio* prevailed, and they encamp'd there, ready prepared for Battle. Then *Alexander*, taking with him his Light Horse, and the Royal Cohort, view'd the whole Field, where the Battle was to be fought, with the utmost Accuracy; and again calling together the Captains of his Forces, he told them, that they ought not to be stirr'd up to warlike Actions by any Speech of his; for their own antient and experienced Valour,

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. iv. cap. 13. 36.* " that *Alexander* was inform'd by a Deserter, one *Bion*, that *Darius* had placed Iron Spikes " in his Way, which would gore his Horse, and gave him Directions " how to avoid them." However that be, we read no more of them afterwards; so that, if any such Things were there, they did neither Good nor Harm.

and the many gallant Atchievements, they had so often perform'd, was a sufficient Incitement for them. He only requested, that every one among them, on whom the Command of a Troop, Wing, Squadron, or Phalanx was conferr'd, should acquaint his Followers, what glorious Rewards would attend that Day's Action; for they did not, then, fight for small Provinces, such as *Cælosyria*, nor *Phœnicia*, nor *Ægypt*, as they had done in former Battles; but for the Empire of all *Asia*: and that very Conflict would determine whose the Dominion should be. He directed them, not to endeavour to excite those to Valour, by many Words, in whom true Valour was properly inherent; only he warn'd them, to take the utmost care to keep them in their Ranks, in Time of Action; and as Silence was so necessary, they should strictly observe it; yet, nevertheless, when Occasion offer'd, they might exalt their Voices, and that their Cries should be as loud and terrible as possible. He order'd them, to transmit the Instructions, they had received, to their Followers, with all Expedition: And, lastly, that they should well weigh the Matter, and consider, that the whole Army may be endanger'd, by any one's Neglect; as, on the other hand, it may be preserved, and become victorious, by each Man's particular Courage and Magnanimity.



C H A P. X.

WITH these, and such like short Speeches, he animated his Captains, and received a Confirmation of their Courage; so that, relying on their Valour, he order'd them to be careful of their Troops, and let them take a little Rest. Some say,

say, that ' *Parmenio* came, afterwards, to his Pavilion, and endeavour'd to persuade him to attack the *Persians* by Night; for that the Shock given in the Dark, and falling upon the Enemy suddenly, and unexpectedly, would be much more terrible and destructive. To which *Alexander* is said to have return'd Answer, That a Victory gain'd by Stealth, argued Baseness in the General; but it was the Business of *Alexander* to conquer fairly, and not by Fraud. And, surely, that Speech favour'd not so much of Arrogance in him, as of his constant Fortitude in encountering Dangers: And I am of Opinion, that he acted the Part of a consummate General, in that Affair; for many strange and unaccountable Accidents happen by Night, as well to those who are prepared for Battle, as to those who are otherwise, which, oftentimes, bring Ruin to the strongest Party, and unexpected Victory to the weakest. Besides, the Night seem'd too dangerous a Time, for *Alexander* to hazard his Army in; and he was resolved, if *Darius* received another

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\* We have two florid Speeches in *Curtius*, upon this Account; the one, of *Parmenio* to *Alexander*; the other, the King's Answer: *Parmenio* tells him, *lib. iv. cap. 13. §.* " That in the dark Night, the " grim and hairy Countenances of the *Scythians*, and *Bactrians*, would " not discourage their Men, nor the mighty Bulk of their Bodies, " make them afraid to encounter them."——What monstrous hairy Fellows must these *Scythians*, and *Bactrians* be, that the little dapper *Greeks* and *Macedonians* should be afraid to face them? The *Asiatics* were, generally, a little larger limb'd than the *Europeans*; and I have sometimes read of a Giant or two in a Battle; but never of a Regiment, or whole Squadron, together. Sure *Parmenio* was too stout to be afraid himself; and I hope he did not swell a Mole-hill to the Size of a Mountain. But then, their Faces were all grim and hairy.—And what then? the *Macedonians* were not to shave their Beards, but to knock out their Brains, as fast as they could; and, I am sure, no Length, or Business of Beard, would save its Owner's Head from the Stroke of a Scymitar. The Truth is, *Curtius* represented them as Monsters, because they were remote Nations; and, as he thought he could not be easily disproved, he imagined he might even make them as big, and ugly as he would.

Over-



Overthrow, that no Night-Engagement should hinder him from being necessitated to confess, that he was a less experienced Captain, and had less valiant Soldiers, than himself could boast of. Add to this, if, contrary to his Expectation, the *Macedonians* should receive a Defeat, their Enemies had the Friendship of all the Country round them; whereas they would have their Hatred. Their Enemies were thoroughly acquainted with the Country; they, wholly ignorant of it. And as there was no small Number of Captives in their Camp, they might chance to be invaded, even by them, in the Night, not only if they were worsted by their Enemies, but even if they obtain'd the Victory, with Loss and Difficulty. For these, and such like weighty Determinations, I think *Alexander* no less to be admired, than for the Greatness of his Courage, which so often crown'd him with Success.



C H A P. XI.

**D**ARIUS, and his Forces, stood under Arms all Night, in the Manner they had been first drawn up; for as they had not fortified their Camp, they were afraid the Enemy should attack them by Night. And, surely, their long and tedious watching, in heavy Armour, and the Fear which usually possesses Mens Minds before a great Danger, contributed not a little to their Overthrow: And this Fear did not spring up on a sudden, but had been of long Continuance; it was firmly rooted in the Hearts of many of them, and wholly dastardiz'd them. <sup>1</sup> *Darius's* Army was drawn up in this Manner;

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<sup>1</sup> *Freinshemius*, and *Raderus*, have often told us, that as to the Disposition of Armies, and Description of Battles, *Curtius* understood

Manner ; (for the Description thereof, says *Aristobulus*, was found, in little Books, after the Battle :) On the Left Wing, were the *Bactrian* Horse, and with them, the *Daa*, and *Arachoti* : behind these, the *Persian* Horse, and Foot, mix'd together : next these, were the *Susians* ; and behind them, the *Cadusians* : And this was the Order of the Left Wing, quite to the main Body of the Army. On the Right, were the *Cælosyrians*, and they, who inhabit the Country between the two Rivers ; these were join'd by the *Medes* : next these, stood the *Parthians*, and *Sacæ* : after these, the *Tapurians*, and *Hyrceanians* : behind these, the *Albanians*, and *Sacefinæ* : And these also reach'd to the main Body. In the main Body, where *Darius* was, were his Kindred, and the *Persian Melophori*, the *Indians*, the *Carian* Exiles, and *Mardian* Archers : next these, stood the *Uxians*, the *Babylonians*, the Inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea, and the *Sitacini*. Before the Left Wing, facing *Alexander's* Right, stood about a Thousand *Scythian* and *Bactrian* Horse, and a Hundred arm'd Chariots ; and round *Darius's* Royal Guard, were Elephants, and about Fifty Chariots. Before the Right Wing, stood the *Armenian* and *Cappadocian* Horse, and about Fifty arm'd Chariots. But the *Greek* mercenary Soldiers, quite surrounded *Darius*, and the *Persians*, who were his Guards, and fronted the *Macedonian* Phalanx, as those whose Valour alone was equal to theirs.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander's* Army was thus marshall'd : On the Right Wing, stood his auxiliary Troop of Horse ;  
before

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stood them not. I have observed the same before, concerning his Geography. The Disposition of the Army here, is different from that of *Curtius*, and no wonder : This is the most exact, as being taken from *Aristobulus*, who copied it from the *Persian* Manuscripts. See *Curtius's* Description of the marshalling this Army, *lib. iv. cap. 13. 6.*

<sup>2</sup> The Disposition of *Alexander's* Troops, in *Curtius*, appears, at first Sight, to be made without Judgment : So that he either wanted it

before those, the Royal Cohort, commanded by *Nitus* the Son of *Dropidas*: next, stood those of *Glaucias*; and then that of *Ariston*: after which, was that of *Sopolis* the Son of *Hermodorus*: next, that of *Heracitus* the Son of *Antiochus*: then that of *Demetrius* the Son of *Althæmenes*, followed by that of *Meleager*: and the last of the Royal Troops, was that commanded by *Hegelochus* the Son of *Hippostratus*. But the Command of all the auxiliary Horse, belonged to *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio*. The first Rank of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, which was join'd with the Horse, consisted

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it himself, or copied from those who did. As for Example; "For a Body of Reserve to the Right Wing, he places *Canus*, with his Band; and next to him, were *Orestes*, and *Lyncestes*." — *lib. iv. cap. 13. 28*. Now what Reader would not imagine this *Orestes*, and *Lyncestes* to be Captains of Troops, as well as *Canus*? I can assure mine, they were no such thing; nay, they were so far from being Commanders in *Alexander's Army*, that they were not so much as Men; for the *Orestes*, and *Lyncestes*, are only the Names of People inhabiting two particular Districts, or Provinces, in *Greece*: To prove the Truth of which, I shall refer my Readers to *Strabo, lib. vii. Stephanus, in Alyn*; *Pliny, lib. iv. cap. 10.* and *Ptolemy*. — Then *Curtius* proceeds; "After these, stood *Polypercon*, who headed the foreign Forces." — *Freinshemius*, upon this, grows quite out of Patience with him; and when he has told us, that *Polypercon* commanded the *Stymphai*, in *Diodorus*, he professes, that he gives little Credit to *Curtius*, in any thing, but the least of all to his Descriptions of Battles. — However, *Curtius* goes on; "*Amyntas* was General, or chief Commander, over this Wing." — This is false; for *Amyntas* had been dispatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raise Recruits, and was not return'd, and his Brother *Symmachus* commanded. — Then he tells us, that "*Philagus* commanded the *Balacrians*, who were newly lifted into the Service." — That they were, sure enough; for they were of *Curtius's* own lifting, nay, and of his creating too; for they were *Non Entities* before: There never was any such Person as *Philagus*, nor any such People as the *Balacrians*. However, *Freinshemius* has set him right here, and tells us from *Arrian*, and Conjecture, that *Curtius* either wrote, or should have written, *Phrygas Balacrus regebat*, instead of *Philagus Balacrus regebat*. *Balacrus* was the Son of *Amyntas*, and commanded a Party of Darters, as *Arrian* informs us in the next Chapter. All these Errors, *Curtius* has made in the Compass of Three Lines. If his whole History were such Stuff, my Comment would swell to the Size of a primitive Father's Works, and I ought to live to a Patriarch's Age, to finish it.

of the Targeteers, commanded by *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio* : next to these, was the Troop of *Cænus* the Son of *Polemocrates* : then, that of *Perdiccas* the Son of *Orontes* : after this, stood that of *Meleager* the Son of *Neoptolemus* ; then, that of *Polysperchon* the Son of *Simmias* : and next, that of *Amyntas* the Son of *Philip*. The Command of this Cohort belonged to *Simmias* ; for *Amyntas* had been before, dispatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raise Recruits. On the Left Side of his Phalanx, was posted the Troop of *Craterus* the Son of *Alexander*, who also commanded the whole Body of Foot on the Left : next was that Body of auxiliary Horse, whose Captain was *Erigyus* the Son of *Larichus* : next these, still towards the Left Wing, were the *Thessalian* Horse, commanded by *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus*. But the whole Body of Horse, on the Left Wing, was under the Command of *Parmenio* the Son of *Philotas*. Round these, the *Pharselian* Horse were posted, who were both the best, and most numerous of all the *Thessalian* Cavalry.



## C H A P. XII.

**A**FTER this Manner, *Alexander* ranged his Army in Front ; but he added also another Phalanx, which should be a kind of flying Party, or Squadron, having given Orders to the Commanders thereof, that if they perceived their own Countrymen surrounded by the *Persian* Army, they should suddenly turn backwards, and charge the *Barbarians*, and contract or dilate their Phalanx, as Occasion offer'd. On the Right Wing, next to the Royal Cohort, was posted a Troop of *Agrians*, under the Command of *Attalus* : behind these, the *Macedonian* Archers, led on by *Briso*,  
to

o whom were join'd those Troops named the foreign Veterans, commanded by *Cleander*. Before the *Agrians*, stood the Forlorn Hope of Horse, and the *Pæonians*, headed by *Aretes*, and *Aristo*. Before the rest, stood the mercenary Troops of Horse, under the Command of *Menidas*: But before the Royal Cohort, and auxiliary Troops, the remaining Part of the *Agrians*, and Archers; and the Darters, led on by *Balacrus*, were ranged, to front the arm'd Chariots. Moreover, an Order was given to *Menidas*, and the Troops under his Command, that if the Enemy should surround his Wing, he should charge them on the Flank. And this was the Disposition of the Right Wing. On the Left, in a Half-Moon, were the *Thracians*, commanded by *Sitalces*; next, the auxiliary Horse, led on by *Cæranus*: after these, the *Odrysian* Horse, under the Command of *Agathon* the Son of *Tyrimmas*. But, to front all, on this Wing, stood the foreign mercenary Troops of Horse, under *Andromachus* the Son of *Hieron*: and the *Thracian* Foot, were placed as a Guard upon the Baggage. The whole Army of *Alexander*, thus disposed, consisted of about Seven thousand Horse, and Forty thousand Foot.

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* no where tells us, what Numbers *Alexander* brought into this Field; but when he has done marshalling them, after his manner, he adds, *lib. iv. cap. 13. 35*. "That *Alexander* left all his Carriages, and Captives, among whom were *Darius's* Mother, and Children, on a Hill, a little Distance off." — Here is another Hill started up, all of a sudden, for he assures us before, that the whole was levell'd. The Truth is, he is inconsistent with himself, and seems to labour so much at the embellishing his Style, that he sometimes forgets to write Sense.





## C H A P. XIII.

WHEN both Armies were ranged in such Order as was judged necessary, and drew near each other, *Darius*, and those who were about him, (*viz.*) the *Persian Melophori*, the *Indians*, *Albanians*, *Carian Exiles*, and *Mardian Archers*, were perceived to place themselves directly opposite to *Alexander*, and his Royal Cohort. *Alexander*, therefore, caused his Right Wing to stretch out in Length: Then the *Persians*, in the same Manner, extended their Left Wing. And now the *Scythian Horse* almost touch'd those, who were the *Macedonian Forlorn Hope*: nevertheless, *Alexander* still continued to draw towards the Right Hand, till he approach'd near the Place, which the *Persians* had levell'd. But now *Darius*, fearing that, if the *Macedonians* proceeded to move to uneven Ground, his arm'd Chariots would be useless, commanded those who were at the Extremity of his Left Wing, to wheel round, and thereby hinder *Alexander* from extending his Right Wing further. This done, *Alexander* gave Orders to his mercenary Horse, led on by *Menidas*, to attack them. But when the *Scythian Horse*, and those of the *Bactrians*, who were join'd with them, had almost cut off these few, their Numbers being much superior, *Alexander* order'd *Aretes*, with the *Pæonians*, and Foreigners, to their Relief; upon which, the *Barbarians* gave Way: But another Body of *Bactrians* coming up, caused their flying Troops to rally, and renew'd the Fight; and a sharp Equestrian Conflict ensuing, many of *Alexander's* Soldiers fell, not only because they were overborn by  
Numbers,

Numbers, but because the *Scythian* Horses, and their Riders, were much more compleatly arm'd. But, as it was, the *Macedonians* sustain'd the Shock, and beginning to push forwards, with great Fury, broke the Enemies Ranks. The *Barbarians*, on the other hand, sent their arm'd Chariots against the *Macedonians*, to put them into Confusion; but their<sup>1</sup> Designs were frustrated; for they no sooner approach'd, than the *Agrians*, and Darters, under *Balacrus*, who were posted before the auxiliary Horse, destroy'd many with their missive Weapons. The Reins of some of them were seiz'd, and their Drivers being thrown headlong from their Seats, the Horses were stopp'd, and slain. Yet some run quite thro' the Middle of the Army, and escap'd; for they open'd their Ranks, as they had been order'd, where-ever the Chariots approach'd them; by which means it happen'd, that the Chariots drove thro' safe, and the part of the Army thro' which they were hurried, remain'd firm, and untouch'd. However, most of these were, afterwards, seiz'd by the Captains of Horse, and Targeteers, belonging to *Alexander*.

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<sup>1</sup> The Spears and Hooks, which were fasten'd to the Chariots, according to *Curtius*, did some Execution at first; but afterwards, he owns, the Chariots were overthrown, and the Horses and Charioteers slain. See *lib. iv. cap. 15*.



## C H A P. XIV.

**B**UT when *Darius's* whole Body of Foot began to be in Motion, with Design to environ *Alexander's* Right Wing, he speedily dispatch'd *Aretas* against them, tho' himself still continued his Command there. But when he perceived that the Party of Horse, sent against those who harass'd his Right Wing, had begun to break into the *Barbarian* Ranks, he immediately halted thither, and drawing up his Party of auxiliary Horse, into a sort of *Cuneus*, flew directly to the Place, where the Chasm was, with a mighty Noise, as tho' he had been in Pursuit of *Darius*: And indeed, the Battle was doubtful, for a little Time. But when the auxiliary Troops about *Alexander*, and even he himself, begun to redouble their Force, and smite the *Persians* in the Faces, with their Spears; and when the *Macedonian* Phalanx, still firm, and terrible, begun to rush in upon them; then *Darius* (whose Mind had been, before, possess'd with dismal Apprehensions of *Alexander*) gave up all for lost, and fled. The *Persians* also, who had endeavour'd to environ the Right Wing, were in

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 15. 1. places *Darius* in the Left Wing of his Army, contrary to *Arrian*; whereas every body knows, that the *Persian* Monarchs always fought in the Main Body. *Freinshemius* endeavours to excuse him here, by alledging, that *Curtius* divided not the Army into Three Parts, as usual, but only into Two Wings, which met in the Centre; and he adds, that *Darius* might, probably, be posted somewhat nearer the Left Wing. — He might so. Another Conjecture he gives us, why *Darius* was on the Left Wing, was, that he might be opposite to *Alexander*, who always fought in the Right Wing. But I take the former to be the more probable.



great Streights, being violently assaulted by *Aretas*; but at length they betook themselves to Flight, and the *Macedonians* made a huge Slaughter of them in the Pursuit: <sup>2</sup> *Simmias*, with his Troop, could not assist *Alexander* there, but was forced to make a Halt, and fight; for he not only received Intelligence that the Left Wing was in Danger, but that the Part, from whence *Alexander* had drawn his Troops, to pursue the Enemy, and left a vacant Space, was so much weaken'd, that some of the *Indian* and *Persian* Horse had penetrated as far as the *Macedonian* Baggage; and a dreadful Conflict happen'd there; for the *Persians* rush'd boldly forwards against the *Macedonians*, who were chiefly unarm'd, and never suspected that a small Party would dare to attack them, and break their double Phalanx. The *Barbarian* Captives also, seeing the *Macedonians* in this Distress, by the *Persians*, rose up against them in the Heat of the Battle. But the Captains of those Forces, who were placed as a Rere-guard to the first Phalanx, perceiving this Defeat of their Countrymen, immediately faced about, (according to their Orders) and came upon the Backs of the *Persians*, and, finding them

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<sup>2</sup> Here *Curtius* has fallen into another Error, by telling this same Story of saving the Baggage, and substituting *Amyntas*, instead of *Symmias*, lib. iv. cap. 15. 12. and, what is a much greater Wonder, *Freinshemius* gives him some Countenance, by saying, that tho' one *Amyntas* was absent, raising Recruits, there were many of the Name, and this might be one of them. This Name of *Amyntas*, was always look'd upon as a Mistake; and *Acidalius*, *Modius*, and *Raderus*, three Commentators, were of Opinion, it ought to be *Menidas*; but this was only Guess-work. However, I wonder that *Freinshemius*, who was so quick-sighted, should not perceive that the same Story which *Curtius* tells us of *Amyntas*, *Arrian* gives us of *Symmias*, who was his Brother, and Successor in the Post. Besides, *Curtius* has not only assured us, that this *Amyntas* was dispatch'd into *Macedonia*, to raise Recruits, immediately after the Siege of *Gaza*, lib. iv. cap. 6. 10. but he also gives us notice of his Return, with Six thousand Foot, to *Alexander* at *Babylon*, after the Battle of *Arbela*, lib. v. cap. 1. 40.

intangled among the Baggage, slew many : The rest escaped by Flight. But the Right Wing of the *Persian* Army, who had not yet heard of *Darius's* Flight, set themselves in Opposition to *Alexander's* Left, and falling, obliquely, upon *Parmenio's* Troop, did great Execution among them.



## C H A P. XV.

**I**N the mean time, while the *Macedonian* Affairs hung thus in Suspence, *Parmenio* dispatch'd a Messenger to acquaint *Alexander* with his Danger, and beg his Assistance. When *Alexander* understood this, he immediately left off the Pursuit, and returning to the Army, with his auxiliary Forces, rush'd with great Fury upon the Right Wing of the *Barbarians* : His first Attack was made upon the Enemies Light Horse, namely, the *Parthians*, some *Indians*, and *Persians*, which last were both the stoutest, and most numerous ; and then happen'd a far more dreadful Scene, than any of the former : for the *Barbarians*, still keeping their Ranks, begun to face about, to meet *Alexander* ; and then, there was no casting of Darts, nor dextrous Management of Horses, as is common in Equestrian Battles, but every one strove to dismount his Foe, and, as if their whole Safety had depended on their Success that way, they proceeded to give Wounds, and receive them, to smite, and be smitten, as if each particular Person had endeavour'd to procure a Victory for himself, and not for another. In this Conflict, about Sixty of *Alexander's* auxiliary Forces were slain, and *Hephestion*, *Cæsus*, and *Menidas* wounded. But even here, the *Macedonians* had the Advantage ; for the *Barbarians*,  
not

not able to endure their Rage any longer, begun to consult their Safety, by a precipitate Flight. And now *Alexander* had almost arrived at the Enemies Right Wing, which he also design'd to have encounter'd; but the *Thessalian* Horse having already attack'd them, with great Valour, little remain'd to be done; for he no sooner appear'd, with his Forces, than they quitted their Stations, and fled. *Alexander* therefore returning to his Pursuit of *Darius*, left not off till the Night compell'd him; and *Parmenio*, with his Troops, also pursued as far as they could. *Alexander* passing the River <sup>1</sup> *Lycus*, there encamp'd, to give his Men, and their Horses, a little Refreshment. Mean while, *Parmenio* seiz'd upon the Enemies Tents, and secured all their Baggage, Elephants, and Camels. *Alexander* having given his auxiliary Troops some Rest, arose, about Mid-night, and hasted to <sup>2</sup> *Arbela*, hoping there

<sup>1</sup> By this we may plainly perceive, that the Field of Battle was on this Side that River.

<sup>2</sup> 'Tis strange, that *Curtius* should, every where, mention *Arbela* as the nearest Place to the Field where this Battle was fought, when the contrary is so apparent. He has fallen into many Errors on this very Account; for, in regard to Situation, he places it first on this Side the *Tygris*, lib. iv. cap. 9. 7. and in less Compass than that of one Chapter, he places it beyond the *Tygris*, lib. iv. cap. 9. 14.— The Truth is, *Arbela* was not only beyond the *Tygris*, but also beyond the *Lycus*. Secondly, he calls *Arbela* a Village, memorable for nothing but that Battle; whereas it was then a large City, and the Capital of a Province, as is manifest from *Strabo*, lib. xvi. Besides, it is not at all probable, that *Darius* would now lodge all his Treasures, and Royal Furniture, in a small Village, or ordinary Castle, when we find that, before the Battle of *Issus*, he sent them, for Security, as far as *Damascus*. But this is not all; *Arbela* was Six hundred Stadia distant from the Field of Battle, which makes Seventy-five English Miles, as is manifest from *Arrian*, lib. vi. cap. 11. Moreover, he tells us, that when *Alexander* had pursued the Enemy a good Way from the Field, even beyond the River *Lycus*, till his Men were weary, he suffered them to take some Rest; but rising again at Mid-night, he hasted to *Arbela*, where he arrived not before the next Day. In a Word, the Battle was fought at a Village call'd *Gangamela*, as is evident from *Arrian*, *Strabo*, and *Plutarch*;

there not only to seize upon *Darius*, but all his Treasures, and Royal Furniture. The next Day, he arrived there, having already pursued the Fugitives about Six hundred Furlongs. But he could not find *Darius* there; for he, not daring to trust himself any where, found Rest no where: but the Royal Treasures, and Furniture, 'fell into his Hands, and *Darius's* Chariot, and Shield, and Bow, came again into the Conqueror's Power. Of the *Macedonian* Horsemen, about One hundred fell in that Battle; but a Thousand Horses were lost, partly by Wounds received in Fight, and partly by being over-heated in the Pursuit; nigh one half of which Number, belong'd to the auxiliary Forces. Of the *Barbarians*, no fewer than <sup>3</sup>Three hundred thousand are said to have been slain; and that the Number of Prisoners was much greater. All the Elephants, and all the Chariots, which were not broke in the Fight, were now taken. This Battle was thus won, in the Month *Puanepfion*, when *Aristophanes* was Archon at *Athens*: And hereby the Prediction of *Aristander* was accomplished, (*viz.*) That before the Month was fully past, in which the Eclipse of the Moon happen'd, *Alexander* should both fight a Battle, and obtain a Victory.

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and as *Curtius* calls *Arbela* a Village, some Criticks think he is in an Error only in the Name of the Place, and that he intended to have wrote *Gaugamela*; but that this is false, will appear afterwards.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot forbear wondering why *Arrian* should make such an unaccountable Difference here, between the Numbers of the *Macedonians*, and *Persians*, who fell in this Battle. That an Army of less than Fifty thousand Men, should kill Three hundred Thousand upon the Spot, is incredible: One, or both of these Numbers, must be therefore faulty. But of this, see more in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.



C H A P. XVI.

**D**ARIUS, immediately after this Battle, fled thro' the mountainous Tract of *Armenia*, into *Media*, and with him were the *Bactrians*, and some *Persians* of his Kindred, besides a few of the *Melophori*.

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 1. 3. tells us, that *Darius* fled from the Field of Battle to *Arbela*, which Place he reach'd about Mid-night: — and *Raderus* assures us, that Six hundred Furlongs, or Seventy-five *English* Miles, was a vast Way to ride in so short a Time. — So think I too. Now, that *Curtius* must mean, the Middle of the Night immediately succeeding the Day of Battle, is manifest; for had it been the Night after, *Alexander* had been there before him; and then he could have expected but a sorry Welcome. That this Battle was fought, or at least finish'd, in the Afternoon, is probable, because *Alexander*, in the Pursuit, could reach no further than the River *Lycus* that Night, which is Eighty Furlongs, or Ten *English* Miles, from the Field: Then, giving his Soldiers a little Rest, he march'd forward again, at Mid-night, and reach'd *Arbela*, the next Day, which was above Sixty Miles further. Now the Wonder is, how *Darius* could fly as far, in five or six Hours, as *Alexander* could pursue in, perhaps, eighteen or twenty, when every body knows *Alexander's* Speed in marching? However, *Arrian* has clear'd up the Case, by assuring us, that *Darius* never came near *Arbela*, but directed his Flight thro' *Armenia* into *Media*, a very different Way: And *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 538. plainly tells us, he hasted to *Ecbatana*. *Plutarch*, *Vit. Alex.* p. 22. *Ed. Steph.* says, that “*Darius*, seeing the Battle lost, and finding his Chariot so entangled among the dead Bodies, that he could not free it, was forced to quit it, and having mounted a Mare, which had newly foal'd, betook himself to Flight.” — A Mare that had newly foal'd, or a Mare big with Foal, are not usually so expeditious. One Thing more, I cannot forbear taking Notice of: *Curtius* tells us, that “the Stench of the Carcasses of those slain in this Battle, had so infected the Air, that *Alexander* was obliged to remove from *Arbela*, sooner than he design'd; — lib. v. cap. 1. 11. It must be a prodigious Stench indeed, or *Alexander's* Men must have quick Noses, who could smell it at Seventy-five Miles Distance. Besides, *Alexander* could have no Design of tarrying at *Arbela*, any longer than to secure the Treasures, and Royal Furniture there; neither had he, perhaps, gone there at all, but to

*Melophori*. About Two thousand foreign Mercenaries also accompanied him, commanded by *Paron* the *Phocæan*, and *Glaucus* the *Ætolian*. He took his Flight, thus precipitately, into *Media*, because he imagined *Alexander* would, immediately after this Battle, haste to *Susa* and *Babylon*; for all that Country is not only extremely populous, but commodious for marching an Army thro'; and besides, *Babylon*, and *Susa*, seem'd to be destin'd as the Rewards of that Day's Action: whereas the Ways into *Media*, were by no means commodious for the March of a great Army. And in that, *Darius's* Judgment was just; for when *Alexander* left *Arbela*, he hasted straight to <sup>a</sup> *Babylon*, which City, when he came nigh, he drew up his whole Army

seize them. *Babylon*, *Susa*, and *Persopolis*, were the Places he aim'd at, and *Darius* knew that well enough; for which Reason, he directed his Flight to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. All these Errors arise from *Curtius's* first Mistake, of imagining *Arbela* nigh the Field of Battle. He has been guilty of another Error, in the very next Line, by placing *Arabia Felix* on their Left Hand, as they pass'd from *Arbela* to *Babylon*; but that has been already taken Notice of, in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

<sup>a</sup> *Curtius* has given us a vast Description of the City of *Babylon*, which, in the first place, is liable to numberless Exceptions, as may be plainly perceived from his Commentators; and, secondly, were it never so just, it is nothing to his purpose, as an Historian. But 'tis his way, to trifle away his own Time, and tire out his Reader's Patience, with long Speeches, which were never spoke, and impertinent Descriptions of Rivers, Mountains, Towns, and Countries, which none but a Geographer ought to attempt, and which plainly shew, he either never read, or did not understand, the Geographers who wrote before him. I shall pass by his Account of the Country between *Euphrates* and *Tygris*, "the Soil of which, he says, is so fruitful, that the Inhabitants are reported not to suffer their Cattle to feed too freely, lest they should surfeit;" *lib. v. cap. i. ii.* This important piece of natural Philosophy, I leave to be decided by a Synod of Country-Graiers, whenever they can be lawfully conven'd. The Breadth, Height, or Circuit of the Walls of *Babylon*, were nothing to *Curtius*; they gave *Alexander* no Trouble in taking them. The famous Gardens, the Bridge, and even the Citadel itself, ought not to have been taken notice of, unless something remarkable had then happen'd, to have given the Occasion.

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in Order of Battle. But the *Babylonians*, having Notice of his Approach, threw open their Gates, and, in vast Multitudes, with their Priests, and chief Men, went out to meet him, offering him great Gifts, besides delivering the City, the Tower, and the Royal Treasure into his Hands. *Alexander* entering the City, commanded the *Babylonians* to rebuild the Temples there, which *Xerxes* had destroy'd, and especially the Temple of *Belus*, whom the *Babylonians* worshipped, as their chief God. He constituted *Mazæus*, Governor of the City, *Apolodorus* of *Amphipolis*, Captain of those Troops left with *Mazæus*, and *Asclepiodorus* the Son of *Philo*, Gatherer of the Tribute. He also sent *Metbrines* (who had deliver'd the Castle of *Sardis* into his Possession) to be Governor of *Armenia*. He consulted the *Chaldaæans* in this City, about the Restauration of the Temples; and whatever they advised, he performed; and, in particular, by their Advice, he offered Sacrifices to *Belus*. Taking his Leave of *Babylon*, he march'd for *Susa*, and was met, on his Way, by the Governor's Son, and a Messenger, with a Letter, from *Philoxenus*, whom he had dispatch'd directly thither, from the Field of Battle. The Substance of the Letter was, That the *Susians* had deliver'd their City into his Possession, and all the Royal Treasure was safe. On the Twentieth Day, after his Departure from *Babylon*, he arrived at *Susa*, and entering the City, took Possession of all the Money, amounting to <sup>3</sup> Fifty thousand Talents, besides the Royal Furniture. Many other Things were found there, which

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<sup>3</sup> *Arrian*, *Currius*, lib. v. cap. 2. and *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 540. here agree in the Sum of Fifty thousand Talents, tho' *Plutarch*, p. 24. and *Justin*, lib. xi. cap. 14. have it but Forty thousand. A Talent is reckon'd to amount to 187 l. 10 s. Sterling; so that *Alexander*, according to *Arrian's* Account, became Master of 9,365,000 l. that is, Nine Millions Three hundred and Sixty-five thousand Pounds Sterling, at this Place.

*Xerxes* had, formerly, carried out of *Greece*; particularly, the brazen Statues of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*; These he sent back to *Athens*, and they are to be seen at this Day, placed in the *Ceramicus*, near the Ascent into the City, from the District call'd *Metroos*, hard by the Altar of *Eudamemus*, which, whoever has been initiated in the *Eleusinian* Rites, knows to stand in the *Portico*. Here, *Alexander* sacrificed with lighted Torches, after the Custom of his Country, and exhibited *Gymnick* and *Musical* Sports. And then, leaving <sup>4</sup> *Abulites*, a *Persian*, Governor of the Country round *Susa*, <sup>5</sup> *Mazarus*, one of his Friends, Commander of the Castle, and *Archelaus* the Son of *Theodorus* Captain of the Forces, he directed his March against the *Persians*. He also sent *Menetes* into the Maritime Parts, having made him Governor of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*, to whom he

<sup>4</sup> He dealt with *Abulites* here, as he did, in the preceding Chapter, with *Mazans*. *Mazans*, being Governor of *Babylon*, deliver'd it into his Hands; whereupon *Alexander* continued him in his Government, but constituted *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis* Governor of the Castle. So here, *Abulites* having deliver'd up *Susa*, was continued in his Post, but the Command over the Forces, left to secure the Province, was given to *Archelaus*, and the Government of the Castle to *Mazarus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Curtius* tells us, he gave the Command of the Castle to *Xenophilus*, and made *Callicrates* Treasurer, lib. v. cap. 2. 16. The first, *Arrian* contradicts; and neither of their Names are to be found in any other Author. He then acquaints us, how *Alexander* presented *Darius's* Mother with some rich Purple Garments, of his own Sister's making, as a Pattern for her Grand-daughters to make him some of the same Sort; which they taking as an Affront, he made an Apology for himself, by pleading his Ignorance of their Customs; "And since I understood, says he, that the Custom of your Country looks upon it as a Fault, for a Son to sit down in his Mother's Presence, without her Permission, I have always waited for your Command, before I sat down, &c. — What a prodigious Courtier is *Alexander* commenc'd, all on a sudden! What it is to keep good Company! He might have tarried on the other Side of the *Hellestons*, till he had been as grey as a Badger, and never have been Master of so much good Manners.

deliver'd



deliver'd Three thousand Talents of Silver, with Orders that as much thereof as was necessary, should be convey'd by Sea to *Antipater*, to carry on the War against the *Lacedæmonians*. Thither, arrived *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, with an Army of new-rai'd Men, from *Macedonia*: The Horse, belonging to which, he incorporated with his auxiliary Troops; but the Foot were distributed, each into the Troop belonging to his own Nation. He also appointed two *Decurio's* to every Troop, whereas, before this Time, there were no *Decurio's* in the Horse Service; and those he chose out of the Number of his Auxiliaries, who had already served him with the greatest Courage and Fidelity.



C H A P. XVII.

AFTER this, moving with his Army from *Susa*, he pass'd the River <sup>1</sup> *Pasitigris*, and enter'd the Territories of the *Uxii*. Those *Uxii*, who inhabited the open Country, and had, before, been subject to the *Persians*, promised him Obedience; but the Mountaineers, who never stoop'd to the *Persian* Yoke, sent him word, that they would not suffer him to march, with his Army, against the *Persians*, unless he would allow them as much for his Passage, as the *Persian* Monarchs were wont to allow. *Alexander* sent back the Messengers, with Orders, that they should block up those Streights, whereby they design'd to put a Stop to his intended March, and there receive their usual Tribute.

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<sup>1</sup> The impertinent Description of this River, in *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 3. 1. is taken notice of in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work.

\* He, in the mean time, accompanied with his Royal Cohort, his Targeteers, and about Eight thousand others, by the Direction of some *Sufian* Guides, enter'd their Country, by Night, another Way, much less frequented, but more difficult; and the next Day, came into some of the *Uxian* Villages, where he took much Spoil, and slew many of the Inhabitants, whom they surprized asleep; others fled to the Mountains. *Alexander*, hereupon, march'd speedily to these Streights, to which he observed the *Uxians* flocking, in great Numbers, in hopes of the accustom'd Tribute, for the Passage of an Army. But he had dispatch'd *Craterus* before, to seize the Tops of the Mountains, whither, he imagined, the Enemy would retire, if reduced to Extremities. He, hastening his March, seiz'd upon the Pass, and having drawn up his Forces in Order of

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\* *Curtius*, lib. iv. cap. 3. 6. tells us, "He dispatch'd *Tanron* upon this Expedition, who appearing above the Walls of the Town, the Place was surrender'd; but the greatest part of the Defendants retired into the Castle, from whence they sent Thirty Embassadors, &c." — How easy it is, for a Man to make a fine Story, if he has no Regard to Truth! What he fathers upon *Tanron*, *Arrian*, with some Variety of Circumstances, ascribes to *Craterus*. — Then he proceeds: "The Townsmen privately dispatch'd Messengers to *Darius's* Mother, to intercede for them; for the Governor had married her Niece." — This is the most unlikely Story in the World; for as these Mountaineers were profess'd Enemies to the *Persians*, as well as to *Alexander*, it is not at all probable, that any Governor of theirs, should marry a Kinswoman of *Darius*. — However, he tells us, "She at last consented to undertake the Task, and obtain'd her Request." — And to shew us how great the Conqueror's Clemency was, he assures us, lib. v. cap. 3. 15. "That *Alexander* not only pardoned *Medathes*, the Governor, but all the rest, without Distinction, and gave them their Liberty. He also permitted them to enjoy their Lands, and Possessions, without Tribute. And then, all in Raptures, he concludes, "What more than this, could a Mother have obtain'd, even of her own Son? — What more, indeed? I much question, whether he would have been half so complaisant to his Mother *Olympias*. But the Mischief is, this last Paragraph is every Tittle false; for *Arrian* assures us, that *Alexander* imposed a Tribute upon them of One hundred War-Horses, Five hundred Baggage-Horses, and Thirty thousand Head of Cattle.

Battle,

Battle, attack'd the *Barbarians*, from the highest, and most advantagious Station. They, being in a Consternation at the Suddenness of his Arrival, and seeing those Places seiz'd, wherein they chiefly trusted, without striking a Blow, betook themselves to Flight. However, many of them fell by *Alexander's* Soldiers, in the Pursuit, and many tumbled down from the Rocks, and Precipices; while others, endeavouring to escape over the Tops of the Mountains, were seiz'd, and slain by *Craterus's* Forces. Being thus rewarded for their securing the Passage thro' the Streights, <sup>3</sup> they, after much Intercession, at last obtain'd a Grant from *Alexander*, to remain quietly in Possession of their antient Territories, upon their agreeing to pay an annual Tribute. *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* tells us, that *Darius's* Mother was their Mediator to *Alexander*, who, upon her Account, restored them their Possessions. The Tribute imposed upon them was, a Hundred Horses for War, Five hundred Baggage-Horses, and Thirty thousand Head of Cattle; for the *Uxii* had no Money among them, nor were their Lands fit for Tillage, but most of them employ'd themselves in breeding, and feeding Cattle.

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<sup>3</sup> By this, it is plain, that it was not the Citizens of one particular City, coop'd up in a Castle, who obtain'd these Terms, as *Curtius* insinuates; neither was *Alexander* so vastly generous, nor so wondrously merciful, as he would make us believe; but it was the whole Body of the Mountaineers, in general; for the *Uxians*, inhabiting the plain Country, had surrender'd before.





## C H A P. XVIII.

**A**LLEXANDER, then, dispatch'd *Parmenio*, with the Carriages and Baggage, as also the *Thessalian* Horse, the Royal Cohort, the foreign Mercenaries, and the rest of the heavy-arm'd Soldiers, against the *Persians*, and order'd him to chuse a Road fit for Chariots; while He, with the *Macedonian* Foot, the auxiliary Horse, and the Forlorn Hope, as also the *Agrians*, and Archers, march'd, a nearer Way, thro' the Mountains. When he came to the '*Persian Streights*', he found that *Ariobarzanes*, with an Army of 'Forty thousand Foot, and about Seven thousand Horse, had block'd up the Entrance, with a Wall, which he had fortified with Towers, to secure the Passage. The first Day, *Alexander* encamp'd his Army there; the

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, by Mistake, calls these, *Pyle Susia*, or the *Susian Streights*. He tells us, that "*Alexander*, after Three Days Journey, enter'd *Persia*, and on the Fifth, the *Pyle Susia*." — Here, I would ask, in the first place, How he could enter *Persia*, Two Days before he came to the *Susian Streights*, unless he supposes the *Susian Streights* in the Middle of *Persia*; which is Nonsense? And, secondly, Supposing these *Streights* to be at the very Entrance into *Persia*, how can they be call'd the *Susian Streights*, when the whole Country of the *Uxians*, as well the Champaign as Mountainous Part, lay between? *Arrian* calls them, properly enough, the *Persian Streights*. *Curtius*, who almost always follows *Diodorus* implicitly, and seldom varies from him, but for the worse; copied this Error from him. See *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the first Editions of *Curtius*, allow *Ariobarzanes* but Fifteen thousand Foot. See *Snakenb.* p. 332. But his later Editors have given him Twenty-five thousand, according to *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 541. and I wonder they did not also add the Three hundred Horse, which *Diodorus* equips him with. The Circumstance of a Wall, wherewith those *Streights* were shut up, neither *Curtius*, nor *Diodorus* take any notice of.

next,

next, with a choice Party, he determined to storm the Wall. But as the storming thereof, seem'd a Work of great Difficulty, by reason of the advantageous Situation of the Enemy, and that many of his Soldiers were already wounded, some by Stones roll'd down the Precipices, others by Darts from the Engines, he caus'd a Retreat to be sound'd, and withdrew his Forces: For<sup>3</sup> some of his Captives had promised to conduct him to the further Side of these Streights, another Way; but when he heard that that Pass was also dangerous, and narrow, he left *Craterus*, and his Camp, there, and with him, his own Troop, *Meleager's* Forces, some of the Archers, and about Five hundred Horse, with Orders, that when he perceived he had pass'd the Streights, and drew near the *Persian* Camp, (which he might easily do, by the Sound of the Trumpets) he should assault the Wall. *Alexander*, with his Targeteers, and *Perdiccas's* Troop, his light-arm'd Archers, and *Agrians*, the Royal Cohort, and One hundred choice Horse besides, having pass'd a hundred Furlongs, by Night, arriv'd at these Streights, by an intricate Road, according to the Direction of his Guides; but order'd *Amyntas*, *Philotas*, and <sup>4</sup>*Cænus* to lead the rest of the Forces thro' the plain Country. He laid a Bridge over the River, which was to be pass'd, before he enter'd into *Persia*, and, in spite of the Difficulty

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius*, lib. v. cap. 4. 4. tells us, his chief, if not his only, Guide, was a *Lycian*, who had been, formerly, taken Prisoner by the *Persians*, and was, now, a Shepherd, and had travell'd the Country; as also, that *Alexander* had been foretold by an Oracle, That his Guide into *Persia*, should be a *Lycian*; which made him rely upon him. He has made a prodigious long Story of it, as he generally does of such Things, the greatest part of which, is nothing to his Purpose, and much of it false. *Plutarch*, p. 24. Ed. *Steph.* says, the Guide's Father was a *Lycian*, but his Mother a *Persian*, and that he spoke both Languages.— This is much the most likely.

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* adds, *Polypercon*.

of the Road, perform'd it with incredible Haste. Arriving, therefore, at the first Station of the *Barbarians*, before Day-light, he slew their Watch: Afterwards, reaching the second, and having slain most of theirs, when he came at the third, the greatest part of them fled: but even those carried no Intelligence to the Camp of *Ariobarzanes*, but being struck with a sudden Consternation, every one escaped, by the nighest Way he could, to the Mountains; so that, when Day-light appeared, the Enemies Camp received an unexpected Assault. As soon as they came to the Intrenchment, which surrounded the Camp, *Craterus* hearing the Sound of their Trumpets, attack'd the Wall on the other Side. The Enemy then, in great Amazement, endeavoured to secure themselves by Flight, without so much as striking a Blow; but finding themselves inclosed on all Hands, *Alexander* pushing them forwards, and *Craterus* meeting them, many of them were constrained to direct their Flight to the Wall; but that was already seiz'd by the *Macedonians*: for *Alexander*, imagining what afterwards happen'd, had order'd *Ptolemey* there, with Three thousand Foot. The greatest Part of the *Barbarians* were slain; even many of them, endeavouring to escape by the Mountains, were struck with sudden Terrors, and fell down the Rocks: however, *Ariobarzanes*, accompanied

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<sup>s</sup> This is the most romantick Story, as *Curtius* tells it, *lib. v. cap. 4. 33.* and really the most improbable one, I ever read. "*Ariobarzanes*, he says, with Forty Horse; — I cannot imagine how he came by them, for he had none at first, according to his Account, *cap. 3. 17.* — "and Five thousand Foot, broke thro' the main Body of the *Macedonians*, and with the Loss of many of his own Men, and the Slaughter of many of his Foes, got safe to *Persopolis*; but being excluded by the Garrison, he return'd, and renew'd the Fight; and by the Time that *Craterus* had join'd the King, he was slain, and all his Followers." — *Arrian* tells us nothing, either of his Death, or his Flight to *Persopolis*; only, with much more Probability, assures us, he fled thro' the mountainous Country, and made his Escape:

accompanied with a few Horſe, fled to the Mountains. *Alexander*, then, returning in Haſte to the River, which he had paſſ'd before, and making the Bridge of ſufficient Strength, brought over his whole Army. Thence, by long Marches, he haſted againſt the *Persians*, that he might ſurprize the Royal Treasures, where-ever he came, before any Notice could be carried of his Arrival. At *Pasargadae*, he ſeiz'd upon the Money which had belonged to *Cyrus*, and made *Pbraſaortes* the Son of *Rheomitbras* Governor of *Persia*. The Royal Palace of the *Persian* Monarchs he burnt, much againſt the

Escape: And indeed, it is no great Wonder; for *chap. xxiii.* he acquaints us, that *Artabazus*, with three of his Sons, *Cophen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arſames*, came and ſurrender'd themſelves to *Alexander*, nigh *Zadracarta*. *Curtius*, after this, gives us a ſtrange Story, which he ſpins out to the Length of a whole Chapter, (*viz.*) "When *Alexander* drew nigh *Perſepolis*, he ſaw a miſerable Spectacle; for almoſt "Four thouſand *Greek* Captives met him, whom the *Persians* had "uſed barbarouſly, by cutting off the Feet of ſome, the Hands, or "Ears; of others, and branding them all with a hot Iron, whereon "were *Persian* Letters, for a perpetual Badge of their Slavery, and "the others Hatred." — *Diodorus*, *lib. xvii. p. 542.* and *Juſtin*, *lib. xi. cap. 14.* and *Suidas* in *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, ſay, the Number of thoſe Captives was no more than Eight hundred; but *Plutarch*, and *Arrian* have entirely omitted the Story, undoubtedly becauſe they ſuſpected the Truth of it. The Reaſon why I do not approve of this Story, is, becauſe it is highly improbable, that thoſe Citizens, who had excluded *Ariobarzanes*, for fear of *Alexander*, would afterwards preſume to exaſperate him, by mangling his Countrymen, in ſo barbarous a manner; and if they had done ſo, it is ſtill more improbable, they would have deliver'd up themſelves, and their City, ſo tamely as they did, without ſtriking a Stroke.

<sup>6</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. v. cap. 6. 10.* that *Alexander* ſeiz'd Six thouſand Talents here. He calls it *Perſagada*, and ſays, *Gobares* the Governor delivered it up.

<sup>7</sup> The burning of *Perſepolis*, *Curtius* has given us at large, *lib. v. cap. 7.* and affirms, that *Thais*, a noted Harlot, was the firſt Propoſer of ſetting it on Fire. *Plutarch* gives us an Account of *Thais*, but he tells it as a Story, which, in all likelihood, he gave little Credit to. That the Royal Palace there, was ſet on Fire, none doubts; and that it was done by Deſign, all Authors agree; but the Story of *Thais* is delivered, as a Truth, by none but himſelf, and *Diodorus*, *lib. xvii. p. 545.*

the Will of *Parmenio*, who intreated him to leave it untouched, not only because it was improper to spoil and destroy what he had gain'd by his Valour but that he would thereby disoblige the *Asiatic* and render them less benevolent to him; for they would then suppose, that he would not keep *Asiatic* in his Possession, but abandon it, as soon as it was conquer'd, and laid waste. To which *Alexander* made Answer, That he was resolv'd to revenge the antient Injuries his Country had received by the *Persians*, who, when they arriv'd, with their Army, in *Greece*, subverted *Athens*, burnt their Temples, and committed many other barbarous Devastations there. But this, in my Opinion, seems to have been no prudent or politick Action in *Alexander*, and was no Revenge upon the <sup>s</sup> *Persians* at all.

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*Curtius* adds, that no less than One hundred and twenty thousand Talents, in Money, were found there, *lib. v. cap. 6. 9.* tho' *Plutarch* seems not to allow this Booty in Money, to be richer than the former at *Susa*; but adds, that of other Moveables, and Treasures, there was seiz'd as much as a Thousand Pair of Mules, and Five hundred Camels could well carry away. *Vid. Plut. Steph. p. 24.* — That the Name of *Persepolis*, was given this Place by the *Greeks*, is unquestionable; but of this, see more in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work. *Curtius* is guilty of a gross Error, *lib. v. c. 7. 9.* by saying, that "the City of *Persepolis* was so far from being rebuilt, that, unless the River *Araxes* run near it, there are not left the least Signs, to guess at the Place where it stood, &c." — Now what if I should say, it was never ruin'd? I am sure, neither *Arrian*, nor *Strabo*, nor even *Diodorus*, whom *Curtius* commonly copies, acquaint us with the burning of any thing but the Royal Palace. Besides, *Arrian* mentions *Alexander's* Return to *Persepolis*, after his Expedition into *India*, and *Diodorus* talks of *Persepolis* still as the Metropolis, in the Division of the Empire among *Alexander's* Successors, *lib. xix.* *Antiochus* is also said to have attempted to reduce *Persepolis*, *Maccab. ix. 2.*

<sup>s</sup> This is certainly a just Remark of *Arrian*; for had *Alexander* taken this Place by Surprise, and been oblig'd to quit it again, it had been no impolitick Action, to have set the Palace on Fire; but as the Case stood, he did not set Fire to one of the *Persian* Palaces, but to a Palace of his own.





C H A P. XIX.

ALEXANDER, then, directed his March into *Media*; for he had received Information, that *Darius* was there. Now *Darius* had determined with himself, if *Alexander* rested at *Babylon*, or *Susa*, to remain in *Media*, till he heard whether the *Macedonian* Soldiers attempted any Innovations; but if he led his Army forwards, against him, then he would retire into *Parthia*, and *Hyrcania*, or even into *Bactria*; and, having laid all the Country behind him waste, render it impossible for *Alexander* to follow him. He, therefore, dispatch'd the Women, and all the Royal Furniture, which he then had, and the Carriages, before him, to the *Caspian Streights*; but He, with the few Forces, which he had newly levied, lay yet at *Ecbatana*. *Alexander* hearing this, hastened into *Media*, and entering the Country of the *Paritacæ*, subdued it, and

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has omitted this, and, what is amazing, if any thing in so romantick an Author can be so, he calls it but "Fifteen hundred Furlongs from *Persopolis* to *Ecbatana*"; but adds, that no Distance "seem'd great, to *Alexander's* incredible Celerity," *lib. v. cap. 8. 2.*—*Arrian* tells us, that the King march'd Eleven Days, before he enter'd the Confines of *Media*, and even then, he was Three Days Journey, if not more, from *Ecbatana*.—Now what an incredible Haste must *Alexander* make, to march Fifteen hundred Furlongs, or One hundred and eighty-seven Miles, in Fourteen Days? 'Tis above Thirteen Miles per Day. I am mistaken, if one of our Country Turkey-drivers would not hurry on his Flock much faster. *Plutarch* lends us some Light to this Story, *p. 27.* by telling us, that *Alexander* in Eleven Days march'd Three thousand three hundred Furlongs, which is near Thirty-eight Miles per Day; after which, he had still Three Days Journey to *Ecbatana*, and perhaps more: So that the whole Distance could not be less than Four thousand Furlongs, or Five hundred Miles.

and appointed *Oxatbres* the Son of *Abulitas* Governor thereof, who had before been President of *Susa*. And when he received Notice, that *Darius* was resolved to meet him, and try the Fortune of another Battle, (for the *Scythians*, and *Cadusians* had come in, to his Assistance) having ordered his Carriages, and Royal Furniture, to follow him, under a Guard; he, with all his Forces, march'd forwards, in Order of Battle, and on the Twelfth Day, pitch'd his Tents in *Media*, where he soon understood, that *Darius* was in no Condition to meet him, with the Forces he then had; as also, that neither the *Cadusians*, nor *Scythians* had join'd him; and that he repos'd all his Safety in a speedy Flight; for which Reason, he was resolved to be the more hasty in his Pursuit. And when he came within Three Days Journey of *Ecbatana*, he was met by *Bisthanes* the Son of *Ochus*, who reign'd in *Persia* before *Darius*: He acquainted *Alexander*, that it was now the Fifth Day, since *Darius* had fled from thence, having carried out of *Media*, Seven thousand Talents of Silver, and having with him, an Army of <sup>2</sup> Three thousand Horse, and Six thousand Foot. When *Alexander* arrived at <sup>3</sup> *Ecbatana*, he dispatch'd the  
*Thessalian*

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Now if we could suppose, that *Curtius* wrote Four thousand five hundred Furlongs, and his Transcribers, by Mistake, alter'd it to One thousand five hundred, his Account might be probable; but as I have no Authority for such an Alteration, better than Guess-work, I shall leave his Numbers faulty, as I found them.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* pretends, that " *Darius* had here an Army of Thirty thousand Foot, (Four thousand of whom were *Greeks*) besides Four thousand Archers, and Slingers, and Three thousand *Bactrian* Horse," *lib. v. cap. 8. 3.* — If he had, either he was the worst General, that ever headed an Army, or they, the cowardliest Crew, that ever bore Arms. However, this is noted as an Error, by all Commentators.

<sup>3</sup> We have a strange Contraction here, in *Curtius*: He had told us, *lib. v. cap. 7.* that " *Alexander*, having made the *Lycian*, who was his Guide into *Persia*, a Present of Thirty Talents of Silver, departed from *Persepolis*, and march'd into *Media*. — But now, forgetting what

\* *Thessalian*, and auxiliary Troops of Horse towards the Sea-coast, and besides their whole Wages, bestowed a Gift of Two thousand Talents upon the Soldiers; and at the same time published an Order, that if any of them were willing to serve him longer, for Wages, his Name should be register'd. Many of them, therefore, gave in their Names. He then order'd *Epocillus* the Son of *Polyides*, with a Guard of Horse, to convey those, to the Sea-side, who chose rather to return home, than follow his Fortunes: for the *Thessalians* sold their Horses there. He also sent *Menetes* with them, to take care that as soon as they came to the Coast, Ships should be in Readiness, to transport them to *Eubœa*. He afterwards order'd *Parmenio*, to lodge all the Money,

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what he had said before, he says, *lib. v. cap. 13.* "that having Intelligence, that *Darius* was gone from *Ecbatana*, he left the Road "which led into *Media*, and resolved to pursue him." — He then goes on; "When he came to *Tabas*, the last City of the *Paretacene*, "Deserters inform'd him of *Darius's* Flight into *Bactria*." — In the first place, no Author, besides himself, mentions any such Place as *Tabas* hereabouts; secondly, *Bisthanes* the Son of *Ochus* met him Three Days Journey from *Ecbatana*, and told him, *Darius* had fled from thence, Five Days before; but for all that, *Alexander* proceeded on his March to *Ecbatana*, as we are assured both by *Arrian*, and *Strabo*; the first of which Authors, acquaints us, "that he carried all "the Treasures, which he had seiz'd in *Persia*, thither, which he "lodg'd in the Castle there, and committed them to the Charge of "*Harpalus*." And *Strabo* tells us, *lib. xi.* "they amounted to One "hundred and eighty thousand Talents.— Eight thousand (*Arrian* "says, Seven thousand) were carried from *Ecbatana* by *Darius*, which "were, afterwards, seiz'd by those who murder'd him." This Number of One hundred and eighty thousand Talents, comes pretty nigh *Curtius's* Computation, who says, Fifty thousand were seiz'd at *Susa*, One hundred and twenty thousand at *Persopolis*, and Six thousand at *Persegade*.

\* *Plutarch* takes notice of his sending the *Thessalian* Horse home, p. 27. *Edit. Steph.* but *Curtius* has not mention'd a Syllable of it. However, there is a vast Chasm, not far from hence, and perhaps that Circumstance may have been lost.

\* All the Conclusion of this Chapter, is entirely omitted by *Curtius*; and indeed, he takes up so much Room in long Speeches, and needless Descriptions of Places, that he neglects several Things, which would be much more material.

brought out of *Persia*, in the Castle of *Ecbatana*, and deliver the Charge thereof to *Harpalus*, whom he appointed to preside over his Treasures there, and with whom he left a Guard of Six thousand *Macedonians*, and some of his auxiliary Horse. He then dispatch'd him (*Parmenio*) with the Foreigners, and *Thracians*, and the rest of the Horse, except the Royal Cohort, along the Confines of the *Cadusians*, into *Hyrcania*. He also wrote to *Clitus* Captain of the Royal Cohort, that when he came from *Susa* to *Ecbatana*, (for he was left there, for the Recovery of his Health) he should take those *Macedonians*, whom he had appointed to guard the Treasures, and march with them against the *Parthians*, whither also he would soon follow him.



## C H A P. XX.

**T**HEN, taking with him his auxiliary Horse, and the Forlorn Hope, with the mercenary Troops commanded by *Erigyius*, and the *Macedonian* Phalanx, (except those who were appointed to guard the Treasures) as also the Archers, and *Agrians*, he march'd in Pursuit of *Darius*. And notwithstanding many of his Soldiers fainted on the Road, and many of his Horses died, thro' excessive Weariness, he still resolved to continue the same Expedition; and accordingly, on the Eleventh Day, arrived at *Rhages*. This City is one Day's Journey distant from the *Caspian Streights*, according to *Alexander's* Manner of marching an Army. But *Darius* had already pass'd thro' these *Streights*, whereupon many of his Followers return'd to their

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has made no mention of his coming here, with an Army.  
Habita-

Habitations, and not a few, surrender'd themselves to *Alexander*. He then, laying aside all Hopes of ever being able to overtake *Darius*, by the utmost Expedition he could make, rested there five Days; and having refreshed his Army, after the Fatigues of Travel, he appointed <sup>2</sup> *Oxydates*, a *Persian*, (who had been taken Prisoner by *Darius*, and confined at *Susa*) Governor of *Media*; for this Confinement of his, by *Darius*, gain'd him Credit with *Alexander*. He then march'd, with his Army, against the *Parthians*, and encamp'd the first Day near the *Caspian Streights*, which he enter'd the Day after, and came into a fruitful Country; and as he was resolved there to lay in a Stock of Forage for his Army, because he had heard, that the inner Parts of the Country lay uncultivated, and waste, he dispatch'd *Cænus*, with his Horse, and some Part of his Foot, to gather in Stores for that Purpose.



## C H A P. XXI.

ABOUT this Time, <sup>1</sup> *Bagistanes* the *Babylonian*, a noted Man, and with him, *Antibelus* the Son of *Mazæus*, came to *Alexander*, from *Da-*

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<sup>2</sup> This Promotion of *Oxydates*, is taken notice of by *Curtius*; but he places it after the Death of *Darius*.

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us a romantick Story of one *Malon*, *Darius's* Interpreter, *lib. v. cap. 13. 7.* who, being taken, gave *Alexander* Intelligence: Afterwards, *Orsillos*, and *Mythracenes*, two Deserters from *Bessus*, offered their Service, to conduct him.— Of all which, we have not a Word elsewhere.— Then he adds, “ When they had travell'd Three hundred Furlongs, they met *Brocubelus* the Son of *Mazæus*, who assured them, that *Darius* was not above Two hundred Furlongs off.”— This *Brocubelus* is, undoubtedly, the same with *Arrian's Antibelus*. However, *Curtius* has mistaken, by making him and *Bagisthanes* come separately, for they came together.

rius's Army, and acquainted him, that *Nabarzanes*, a Captain of a Thousand Horse, and one of those who had accompanied him in his Flight, with *Bessus* Governor of *Bactria*, and *Brazas* Prefect of the *Arachoti*, and *Drangæ*, had seiz'd *Darius*, and held him in Custody. *Alexander* hearing this, imagined there was now more need of Expedition than ever; wherefore, taking with him only his auxiliary Forces, his light Horse, and his stoutest, and best marching Troops of Foot, without waiting for the Return of *Cæsus*, and those whom he had sent a foraging, and having given the Command of those, whom he left behind, to *Craterus*, he order'd them to march moderately. Those who accompanied him, carried no more than their Arms, and two Days Provisions. Then, all that Night, they continued their March, and till Noon the next Day, when allowing his Soldiers a little Rest, he again march'd all the next Night, and early in the Morning enter'd the Camp, from whence *Bagistanes* came, but found not the Enemy. There, he was assured, that *Darius* was carried Prisoner, in his Chariot; that *Bessus* had usurp'd the Imperial Title, and was named General, by the *Bactrian* Horse, and all the other *Barbarians*, except *Artabazus*, and his Sons, and the *Greek* Mercenaries, who continued still faithful to *Darius*, and could not hinder what had happen'd; but that they had left the great Road, and retired to the Mountains, refusing to hold Correspondence with *Bessus*. He also received Advice, that those who had the King in Custody, had determined, if *Alexander* continued his Pursuit, to deliver him up, and consult their own Safety; but if he left it off, they would raise as great an Army as they could,

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<sup>2</sup> This *Brazas* is call'd *Barzaentes*, in several Places in *Arrian*; and that is the true Reading, this being no more than only the last part of the Name lopt off, and one Letter transposed, which is common enough.

and share the Empire among them; that *Bessus* was declared General of the Army, at present, as well because of the great Necessity there was for him about *Darius's* Person, as because he was taken Prisoner in his Province. *Alexander* hearing this, resolved to continue his March, with all possible Speed; and tho' his Men, as well as their Horses, were harra's'd, with incessant Labour, he nevertheless proceeded, and travelling hard all that Night, and till Noon the next Day, arrived at a certain Village, where they, who led *Darius* about, had pitch'd their Tents, the Day before; and being there further assured that they designed to march by Night, he inquired of the Inhabitants, if they knew any nigher Road, than that by which they fled, that he might the sooner overtake them; they told him, they did; but that it led thro' a Country desart, and destitute of Water. He, notwithstanding, order'd them to be his Guides; and when he understood, that the Foot could not possibly keep Pace with the Horse, in so hasty a March; he commanded about Five hundred Horsemen to alight, and the Captains of Foot, and others of their best Men, such as were heavy-arm'd, to mount their Horses. He also order'd *Nicanor*, Captain of his Targeteers, and *Attalus* Commander of the *Agrians*, to march, with those who were light-arm'd, along the great Road, which *Bessus*, and his Companions, had taken. The rest of the Foot, were left to follow in Order. He set forwards at the Close of the Evening, and proceeded with the utmost Vigour; and having march'd Four hundred Furlongs that Night, early the next Morning, came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying, all in Disorder, and unarm'd. A few of them drew up in Ranks, as if they had design'd to defend themselves; but the greatest part, at the first Sight of *Alexander*, turn'd their Backs, without striking one Blow: And even when a few of those, who betook them-

themselves to their Arms, were ' cut off, the rest fled. *Bessus*, and his Companions, still carried *Darius* about in a ' Chariot ; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, ' *Satibarzanes*, and *Barzaentes*, after having given him several grievous Wounds there, left him ; and with a Party of Six hundred Horse, hasted away ; soon after which, *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet seen him, died of his Wounds.



## C H A P. XXII.

**A**LEXANDER sent the Body of *Darius* into *Persia*, to be interr'd in the Royal *Mausolæum* there, among the antient ' *Persian* Kings, his Predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> No less Number than Three thousand were slain here, says *Curtius*, *lib. v. cap. 13. 19.* but without any Shew of Probability.

<sup>2</sup> *Plutarch* assures us, *p. 28.* " That *Darius* was found lying along " in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, and just at the Point of " Death." However, for all this, *Curtius*, *lib. v. cap. 12. 17.* will have it, " That he was laid in a dirty Cart, covered with raw Hides, " like the meanest Captive, and chain'd with Golden Chains. — I am sure, Iron ones would have suited his dirty Cart much better. — However, he proceeds ; " *Polystratus*, a *Macedonian*, as he was drinking at a Spring, first espied the Darts sticking in the Bodies of the " Oxen, and his Curiosity drawing him to see the Reason, he found " a Man in the same Condition, whom, looking upon more narrowly, " he knew to be *Darius*." *Justin* agrees with *Curtius*. — If the Story of the dirty Cart, and raw Hides, pleases any of my Readers, he is welcome to it : As for my part, I look upon it to be little more than a Rhetorical Fiction ; and am of Opinion, the same thing may be said of Rhetoricians, as of Poets ; — *Miranda canunt, sed non credenda.*

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* makes no mention of either of these, as *Darius's* Murderers ; he only says, it was committed by *Bessus*, and his Associates. However, both of them were afterwards taken, and put to Death, for being guilty of this Fact ; and even *Bessus* himself did not long escape.

<sup>4</sup> This *Darius*, according to *Diodorus*, *lib. xvi. p. 490.* was not of the Blood-Royal of the *Persian* Monarchs, but a Plebeian. However,

*Begons,*



decessors. After which, he constituted <sup>2</sup> *Ammynapes* the *Parthian*, (who, with *Mazaces*, had yielded *Egypt* into his Hands) Governor of *Parthia*, and *Hyrkania*; and *Tlepolemus* the Son of *Pythophanes*, one of his Friends, was order'd to assist him in the Affairs of his Government. Thus died *Darius*, in the Month *Ecatombaion*, when *Aristophon* was Archon at *Athens*: A Prince unexpert, and imprudent, in Warlike Affairs; but as to other Matters, one who never attempted any Invasion upon the Rights of his Subjects: neither, indeed, could he; for as soon as he ascended the Throne, his Dominions were attack'd, by the joint Forces of the *Greeks*, and *Macedonians*: for which Reason, it would not have been safe for him, to have injured his own People, when he had so much need of their Assistance. As long as he lived, one Calamity immediately seiz'd him after another; neither enjoy'd he the least Moment's Ease, from the Time that he ascended the Throne. For his Reign was usher'd in, with that dismal Equestrian Defeat at the River *Granicus*; soon after which, ensued the Loss of *Ionia*, and *Æolia*; both *Phrygia's*, *Lydia*, and all *Caria*, except *Halicarnassus*; and in a little time, that of *Halicarnassus* also, with all the Sea-coast, as far as *Cilicia*: Then followed the sad Overthrow at *Issus*, where his Mother, Wife, and Children were taken Captives; soon after which, *Phœnicia*, and *Ægypt* were wrested out of his Hands. Then succeeded

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*Bagoas*, an Eunuch, having poisoned *Ochus*, placed his youngest Son *Arses*, or *Arjames*, upon the Throne: *Arses*, detesting this villainous Act, designed to have punished him; which *Bagoas* understanding, dispatch'd him, and all his Race, and raised *Codomanus* to the Empire, who, thereupon, assumed the Name of *Darius*.

<sup>2</sup> *Currius* calls him *Menapis*, lib. vi. cap. 4. 25. and adds, that he being banished by *Ochus*, was entertained by *Philip*. However that was, he had obtained the Favour at Court afterward, so far, as to have Part of the Government of *Ægypt* conferr'd on him. He takes no notice of *Parthia* being join'd to his Government, nor of *Tlepolemus* his Assistant.

the last, and fatal Battle of *Arbela*, where he was one of the first who fled, and where he lost a vast Army, made up of all the Nations under his Power; soon after which, he was forced to abandon his own Kingdoms, and wander'd in Exile, where, being seiz'd by those about him, he was, at the same time, a King, and a Captive, among his own People; when, after much ignominious Usage received by those who hurried him from Place to Place, he was, at last, barbarously betrayed, and murdered, by those, in whom he most confided. These Disasters pursued *Darius*, to the last Moment of his Life; but after his Death, he was honoured with a Royal Interrment, his Children received a Princely Allowance, and Education, from *Alexander*, as if their Father had still reign'd; and *Alexander* himself took his Daughter to Wife. *Darius* was about Fifty Years of Age, when he died.



## C H A P. XXIII.

ALEXANDER having gathered up those, whom he was forced to leave behind, march'd into *Hyrcania*, which is situate on the Left Hand of the Way which leads to *Bactria*; which Road is bounded on one Side, by a Chain of Mountains, high, and inaccessible; but on the other, is a spacious Plain, extending itself, even to the great Sea: and this Way he led his Army, the rather, because he was informed, that the foreign mercenary Troops, which served *Darius*, had retreated into the *Mardian* Mountains; wherefore, he was resolved to bring the *Mardi* under Subjection. Having, therefore, divided his Forces into Three Parts, he himself took the shortest, and most difficult Roads, because he led the best, and stoutest Part of the Army.

*Craterus,*

*Craterus*, with his own, and *Amyntas's* Troops, and with the Archers, and some Horse, he dispatch'd against the *Tapuri*; but *Erigyus* was order'd to lead the foreign Troops, and the remainder of the Horse, by a smoother, and easier Road, tho' somewhat longer; and to his Care was committed the Chariots, and Baggage-Waggons, and the rest of the Multitude. Having, therefore, pass'd over the first Mountains, and placed Guards there, he, with his Targeteers, and some of the swiftest of the *Macedonian* Phalanx, besides a few Archers, enter'd a Road extremely rugged, and difficult, and having placed Guards, where-ever he apprehended Danger, lest the *Barbarian* Mountaineers should fall upon those who were to follow, and cut them off; he, with his Archers, having pass'd the Streights, encamp'd in a champaign Country, near a small River. Hither, <sup>1</sup> *Nabarzanes*, a Captain of a Thousand Horse under *Darius*, and <sup>2</sup> *Phradaphernes*, Governor of *Hyrkania*, and *Partbia*, and others of the *Persian* Nobility,

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<sup>1</sup> *Nabarzanes*, according to *Curtius*, sent a Letter first, which he gives us, Word for Word, *lib. vi. cap. 4. 8.* but as most of his Letters, as well as his Speeches, are contrived by the Author himself, such Forgeries are, in my humble Opinion, the Corruption of History. He then proceeds to give us some Geographical Description of the Situation of the Countries, thro' which *Alexander* pass'd, and mentions the *Cerceta*, the *Mosyni*, and *Chalybes*, on his Left Hand, and the *Leucosyri*, and the Fields of the *Amazons*, on his Right.— This is a most excellent Geographer! Here are but five Countries mention'd, and the Situation of every one of them is falsely pointed out, as may be easily perceived, by consulting *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Dionys. Pierieg.* &c. He then goes to work to describe the *Caspian* Sea, and gives us the Opinions of several, concerning it, which are all, now, well known to be false. He had, just before, taken a vast deal of Pains to describe a Couple of Rivers, one of which, no body mentions, besides himself, and the other is little to his purpose, and might as well have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Phrataphernes*, *lib. vi. cap. 4. 23.* and *Autophrades* he names *Phradates*; and adds, that *Alexander* then arrived at *Aruas*. Where this was, is not known, no Geographer mentioning any such Place, at least thereabouts. *Ortelius* imagines, it may be the

Nobility, of great Esteem with *Darius*, came, and surrender'd themselves to *Alexander*. Wherefore, tarrying there four Days, Part of his Forces, which he had left by the Way, came up with him, and another Part pass'd by him safe; but a Party of *Barbarian* Mountaineers attack'd the *Agrians*, who were left to conduct a Troop of new-raisd Men; yet being repuls'd, by their Darts, they soon departed. *Alexander* moving from thence, march'd into *Hyrkania*, towards the City *Zadracarta*: and at this Time, came *Craterus*, with the Troops under his Command, who had not found the foreign mercenary Troops of *Darius*, which they sought; but they had brought all the Country, thro' which they pass'd, under Subjection, part thereof by Force, and part by a voluntary Surrender of the Inhabitants. *Erygius* also, with the Chariots, and Baggage, arrived there; and not long after, <sup>3</sup> *Artabazus*, and three of his Sons, *Copen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arfames*, came to *Alexander*, attended by Em-

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the same with *Ptolemy's Armusa*; but this is no more than a Conjecture, from some Affinity in their Names. However, *Arrian* assures us, that *Craterus*, and *Erygius* met him, on his Way to *Zadracarta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Artabazus*, with *Memnon*, (whose Sister he had married) had revolted from *Ochus*, and fled into *Macedonia* to *Philip*, in whose Court they continued, till, by the Mediation of *Mentor*, *Memnon's* Brother, they were pardon'd, and recall'd. *Alexander* could not be then above Seven Years of Age. *Curtius* tells us, "this *Artabazus* presented his Nine Sons to *Alexander*."—That he might easily do, if what *Diodorus* adds, *lib. xvi.* be true, (*viz.*) That he had Eleven Sons, and Nine Daughters, all by one Wife.—However, he is contradicted here, by *Arrian*, who assures us, he had only Three of his Sons with him, and gives us their Names, (*viz.*) *Copen*, *Ariobarzanes*, and *Arfames*; the second of which, I am strongly of Opinion, is the same who block'd up the *Persian Straights* with a Wall, *chap. xviii.* and afterwards made his Escape thro' the Mountains. The Name is the very same, in the best Manuscript of *Arrian* extant, as *Gronovius* assures us; and notwithstanding *Curtius* causes him to be slain, with all his Followers, near *Persepolis*, *lib. v. cap. 4. 34.* He has done it after a romantick Manner: And this is not the first of his slain Heroes, who has come to Life again.

bassadors

bassadors from the foreign Mercenaries which served *Darius*, as also *Autophradates* Governor of the *Ta-puri*. *Autophradates* he restored to his Government, and *Artabazus*, and his Sons, he held in high Esteem, as well because they were some of the chief *Per-sian* Nobility, as for their great Fidelity to *Darius*: But when the <sup>4</sup> Embassadors from the *Grecian* mercenary Troops required, that he would receive all Foreigners into Friendship, he return'd Answer, that he would enter into no Articles with them, because their Offence was heinous, in taking up Arms for the *Barbarians*, against their own Country, in direct Opposition to the general Decree of *Greece*. However, he commanded that they should all either come and surrender themselves, that he might dispose of them according to his Pleasure, or shift for themselves, as well as they could, afterwards. They, hereupon, agreed not only to commit themselves, but others, into his Power, if he would condescend to send them a Captain, to conduct them safe to him. Their whole Number was said to be about One thousand five hundred. *Alex-ander* hereupon dispatch'd *Andronicus* the Son of *Aggerus*, and *Artabazus* thither, for that Purpose.

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<sup>4</sup> *Curcius* mentions no fewer than Ninety Embassadors, *lib. vi. cap. 5. 10.*— A good round Number! which we might rather take for the Remains of an Army, than an Embassy. However, *Arrian* sets us right, by assuring us, there were Four from the *Lacedamonians*, One from the *Athenians*, One from the *Carthaginians*, and some from the *Synopeans*, but what Number he mentions not: however, we cannot reasonably suppose them above Three, or Four. So that this mighty Number of Ninety Embassadors, will, in all Probability, dwindle to Nine, or Ten; unless we have a mind to reckon their whole Retinue, Embassadors, and bring in their *Valet de Chambres*, and Shoe-blackers, to swell the Account.





## C H A P. XXIV.

**H**E, then, directed his March against the *Mardi*, taking with him, his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, with *Cæsus*' and *Amyntas*'s Troops, and Half of the auxiliary Horse, and Darters; for he had constituted a Troop of Darters, who should fight on Horseback. And he soon over-run a great Part of the Country of the *Mardi*, many of the Inhabitants flying; some, indeed, betook themselves to Arms, and were slain, and many were taken Prisoners. <sup>1</sup> None, before *Alexander*, had ever attempted to enter that Country, in a hostile Manner, partly because of the steep and rugged Hills, which must be pass'd over, and partly because of the Poverty of the Inhabitants; which Poverty, makes them warlike, at the same time when they are not worth the conquering: For which Reason, they never suspecting *Alexander* would have attack'd them, (because they had heard, that he was already march'd beyond them) were over-run on a sudden. However, many of them fled to the Mountains, which are there steep, and craggy, imagining, that he would never attempt to disturb them there. But when they found their Mistake, they sent Messengers to him, and surrender'd themselves and Country into his Hands. Having, then, dismiss'd

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<sup>1</sup> We have an exceeding romantick Story given us of this, by *Curcius*, which my Readers may see, *lib. vi. cap. 5.* I have neither Room, nor Leisure, to transcribe it, nor is it worth my while, to animadvert upon it. He tells us, *Alexander* lost his Horse *Bucephalus* there; but *Arrian* gives us the same Story, as happening among the *Uxii*. However, *Plutarch* inclines to the former Opinion.

them,

them, he appointed *Autophradates*, Governor of the *Tapuri*, to preside over them; and returning into the Camp, from whence he set forth on his Expedition against the *Mardi*, he found the *Greek* Mercenaries, who were come to him; as also the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors, who had been dispatch'd to *Darius*: These were, *Callistratidas*, *Pausippus*, *Monimus*, *Anomantus*; and *Dropides* the Embassador of the *Athenians*; all which, having order'd to be seiz'd, he committed them to Custody. The *Sinopean* Embassadors he set free, because the *Sinopeans* were never a part of the Commonwealth of *Greece*, but were subject to the *Persians*; for which Reason, he deem'd them guilty of no Crime, in sending an Embassy to their King. As to the rest of the *Greeks*, those who had enter'd into the *Persian* Service, before the League and Confederacy of their Countrymen with the *Macedonians*, he set free; and with them, *Heraclides* the *Cartbaginian* Embassador. The rest he order'd to take up Arms for him, on the same Conditions they had served *Darius*. Over those, he appointed *Andronicus*, who brought them, to preside as Captain, whom he judg'd to have deserved well, because he had taken the best Means, for the Preservation of their Lives.



C H A P. XXV.

AFTER this, he hasted with his Army to *Zeudracarta*, the chief City of *Hyrcania*, where was the Royal Palace; and having tarried

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<sup>1</sup> Hereabouts, *Curius* places his *Amazonum Campi*, and here he gives us the Story of the *Amazonian* Queen coming to *Alexander*; which I shall take notice of, in my Observations upon *Arrian*, lib. vii. cap. 13.

there fifteen Days, sacrificed to the Gods, after the Manner of his Country, and exhibited *Gymnick Exercises*, he begun his March against the *Partians*. Then he pass'd into the *Arian* Confines, to *Susia*, a City of the *Arii*, where *Satibarzanes* Governor of *Aria*, came to meet him. He restored him his Government, and with him, sent *Anaxippus*, one of his Friends, at the Head of a Party of Forty Archers, on Horseback, whom he appointed to guard the Places, that the *Arii* might sustain no Damage by his Army, in their March thro' their Country. About this Time, arriv'd certain <sup>2</sup> *Persians*, with News, that *Bessus* had assumed the *Regia Tiara*, or Turban, and the *Persian* Vest, Ensigns of Royalty, and laying aside the Name of *Bessus*, would be stiled *Artaxerxes*, King of *Asia*; that he had with him the *Persian* Troops, which had fled into *Bactria*, and great Numbers of the *Bactrians*, and daily expected the Arrival of some Confederate *Scythians*. *Alexander* having now all his Forces together, directed his March towards *Bactria*; for here *Philip* the Son of *Menelaus* came to him from *Media*, with the mercenary Troops of Horse under his Command, and the *Thessalians*, who, by his Order, tarried behind in the Camp, besides the Recruits led on by *Andromachus*; for *Nicanor* the Son of *Parmenio*, Captain of the Tar-

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* acquaints us, *lib. vi. cap. 6. 13.* that *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, gave him this Intelligence. He has told us nothing of the Behaviour of *Alexander's* Soldiers among the *Arii*, nor of *Anaxippus*; but, instead of that, has oblig'd us with a Story of *Alexander's* setting fire to, and burning all their Baggage; by which means, that rich, and almost inestimable Furniture, which the *Persians* had been so many Years, and perhaps Ages, in amassing together, and they had run so much Hazard in acquiring, was consumed, in a Moment. However, he assures us, it was deem'd absolutely necessary, all should go together; for Wealth incited them to Luxury, and Luxury enervated them, and made them neglect their martial Discipline.

geteers,



geteers, was now dead. As *Alexander* was upon his March into *Bactria*, he received Information, that *Satibarzanes* Governor of the *Arii*, having slain *Anaxippus*, and the Archers, his Attendants; had arm'd the Country, and ordered them to meet at the City *Artacoana*, where is the Royal Palace of the *Arian* Princes. He had also resolv'd, as soon as he received News that *Alexander* was march'd a little further off, to lead his Army to *Bessus*, that so, by their joint Force, they might be able to match the *Macedonians*, where-ever they met them. When *Alexander* heard this, he postpon'd his Journey into *Bactria*, and taking with him his auxiliary Horse, his Darters on Horseback, his Archers, and *Agrians*, as also *Cænus*' and *Amyntas*'s Troops, leaving the rest of the Army there, under *Craterus*, he march'd suddenly against *Satibarzanes*, and the *Arii*, and having travell'd Six hundred Furlongs in two Days, came to <sup>3</sup> *Artacoana*. *Satibarzanes* no sooner perceived his Approach, than he was struck with Astonishment, at the Expedition he had made; wherefore, with a <sup>4</sup> few of the *Arian* Horse, he

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<sup>3</sup> I shall here present my Readers with a Specimen of the Difference, which we sometimes meet with, in antient Authors, about the Name of one Town. *Arrian*, here, calls this City *Artacoana*; and some Manuscripts, *Artacoan*; but the best, according to *Gronovius*, *Artacoana*; *Curtius*, *Artacacna*, and some Editions, *Artacrana*; *Diodorus*, *Chortacana*; *Strabo*, *Artlacana*; and *Ptolemy*, *Articaudna*.

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius*, lib. vi. cap. 25. calls these few, no fewer than Two thousand, and tells us a Story " of Thirteen thousand *Arii*, who had " seiz'd a Rock, and secured themselves upon it, and were resolv'd " to defend themselves. Whereupon, *Alexander* left *Craterus* to " besiege them, and hasten'd after *Satibarzanes*; but *Satibarzanes* being gone out of his Reach, he return'd to the Siege of this Rock, " to *Craterus*."— Well, in short, they piled vast Heaps of Wood, as high as the Rock, which they set Fire to; whereupon the *Barbarians*, finding the Place too hot for them, some of them cast themselves down the Rock, some, half burnt, were taken Captives, and others were burnt to Death.— *Curtius* then goes on, cap. 6. 33. " From hence, (that is, from the Siege of this Rock) he (*Alexander*)

he made his Escape; many of his Soldiers, when they were assured that the Enemy was at hand, deserting from him in his Flight. *Alexander* seiz'd as many as he knew were guilty of the Revolt, and those who had forsaken their Habitations, and used them with Rigour, putting some to Death, and sending others into Slavery: And having then appointed *Arfaces* the *Persian*, Governor of the *Arrii*, he, with those Forces which he had before left with *Craterus*, marching against the *Zarangæi*, came to the Imperial City; but *Barsaentes*, one of those who murder'd *Darius* in his Flight, and was then Prince of that Country, hearing of his Approach, fled to the *Indians*, on the other Side the River *Indus*: but they having seiz'd him, sent him to *Alexander*, who, for his Treachery to *Darius*, commanded him to be put to Death.

"*der*) returned to *Craterus*, who besieged *Artacacna*, and only "waited for the King's coming, that he might have the Honour "of taking it."—— This is very strange! Either *Craterus* was with *Alexander* all the while, till the Rock was delivered up, and the Story of his having almost taken *Artacacna*, is false; or, if *Alexander* dispatch'd him, with any Party of Men, to besiege *Artacacna*, before the said Rock was surrender'd, he has been guilty of an unpardonable Omission. Half Stories are generally unintelligible, and had better be left out.

<sup>5</sup> This *Arfaces* is a Corruption, for it ought to be *Arfames*. He was one of the Sons of *Artabazus*.

<sup>6</sup> I fancy, this *Barzaentes* is the same whom *Arrian* mentions, *chap. xxi.* by the Name of *Brazas*, Prefect of the *Arachoti*, and *Dranga*. Whether the *Dranga* and *Zaranga* be the same People, I am not able to give an Account. *Arrian*, and *Pliny*, make them different. However, if they be different, they cannot be far distant, and the Stories in *Arrian*, concerning the *Zarangi*, *Curtius*, *Diodorus*, and *Strabo* give us of the *Drangi*: and that an *Z* might be mistaken for a Greek  $\Delta$ , is a Matter which will be allowed, without much Difficulty.





C H A P. XXVI.

AT this Time, *Alexander* was assured, that *Philotas* the Son of *Parmenio* had conspired against his Life. *Ptolomey*, and *Arifiobulus* acquaint us, that when the Treason was first divulged to him in *Egypt*, he rejected the Information, as deeming it highly improbable, not only because of the antient Friendship, and Honour he had for his Father *Parmenio*, but also because of the extraordinary Confidence he had reposed in him. But *Ptolomey* elsewhere tells us, that *Philotas* being brought before a Council of the *Macedonians*, and grievously accused by *Alexander*, was then acquitted; but afterwards, fresh Circumstances appearing, and a new Charge being drawn up against him, and his Accomplices, among other things, one, in particular, was, that he had confess'd his having Knowledge of a certain Conspiracy against his Sovereign's Life, which he never divulged, notwithstanding he had all the Opportunity he could wish, to make a Discovery, having free Access into the

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* has spent no less than five long Chapters, upon this single Circumstance, of *Philotas's* Accusation, and Defence. He has given us the several Questions, and Answers; Replies, and Rejoinders, with so much Nicety, and described every minute Particular, relating thereto, so accurately, that one would almost swear, he had been see'd for Council, on one Side or the other, himself; tho', after all, I much doubt, whether the greatest part of what he has advanced, upon that Head, be not Fiction, as well as most of his Speeches and Letters are. But as his Work is in every body's Hands, I shall not trouble my Readers with Remarks upon it, but refer them to the Story itself; *lib. vi. cap. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.*

Royal Tent twice every Day. Upon this, <sup>2</sup> *Philotas*, and all the rest of the Conspirators, were slain by Darts from the *Macedonians* which surrounded them. *Polydamas*, one of *Alexander's* Friends, was immediately dispatch'd away to *Parmenio*, with Letters from him, to the Captains of the Army in *Media*, who, at that time, were *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Menides*, who commanded there, under *Parmenio*; and by them, <sup>3</sup> *Parmenio* was put to Death; either because *Alexander* deem'd it unlikely, that *Philotas* should form so deep a Conspiracy against his Life, and his Father be ignorant thereof, or rather, tho' perhaps he might think him innocent, he might at the same time think it dangerous, having slain the Son, to suffer his Father to survive, especially since his Power was so vast, both with *Alexander*, and the Army, as well *Macedonians* as *Foreigners*; over a great Part of whom, by his Sovereign's Command, he had often presided, both in his Course, and otherwise, and acquitted himself with the highest Applause.

<sup>2</sup> They were stoned to Death, as *Curtius* informs us, according to the Custom of the *Macedonians*, *lib. vi. cap. 11. 38.*

<sup>3</sup> The Circumstances of *Parmenio's* Death, *Curtius* has given us, whether true or false. However, he says, *lib. vii. cap. 2. 27.* that "*Cleander* first stabb'd him in the Side, and then in the Throat; and " afterwards, the rest, (namely, *Sitalces*, and *Menides*, I suppose) " shamefully mangled the dead Body: Then *Cleander* cut off the " Head, and sent it to *Alexander*; and the Body was buried by the " Soldiers."





C H A P. XXVII.

THE same Authors add, that *Amyntas* the Son of *Andromenes*, was accused before the Council, and with him, *Polemon*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, his Brothers, as privy to the Conspiracy against *Alexander*, by reason of their extraordinary Intimacy with *Philotas* : and the Suspicion of their Guilt was much strengthen'd among the common People, because, when *Philotas* was apprehended, *Polemon*, one of those Brothers, fled to the Enemy. But when *Amyntas*, who, with his two Brothers which stood their Ground, had taken their Tryal, he pleaded his Cause so well, that they were all acquitted ; immediately after which, before the Council rose, he begg'd leave to go, and bring his Brother back to *Alexander* ; which being granted, he went, and the same Day return'd with his Brother : And from this Circumstance, his Innocence appear'd much plainer than before. However, as he was

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<sup>1</sup> The Story of these Brothers, is spun out to an excessive Length by *Curtius*, and should be pass'd over, without any Remark, did he not, in some Particulars, dissent from *Arrian* ; for he first takes up four whole Pages, in a set Speech, which he puts into the Mouth of *Amyntas*, and even then breaks it off abruptly, by telling us, *lib. vii. cap. 2. 1.* that " while *Amyntas* was thus defending himself, those " who pursued *Polemon*, brought him in bound." He then makes a sort of a Speech, or *Curtius* for him ; after which, he tells us, *lib. vii. cap. 2. 4.* that " the Reason of his flying away, was, be- " cause he, with many others, were terrified at the unusual Tortures " of *Philotas* : With them he fled a little way, till, being at a Stand, " whether to come back or no, and having lost his Company, he was " seiz'd by those, who pursued him." — A School-boy would have made a better Excuse by half, for playing the Truant. *Curtius* takes no notice at all of *Attalus*, another of the Brothers, accused with the rest,

assaulting a small Village, not long after, he was struck with an <sup>2</sup> Arrow, and died of the Wound. So that he received little Advantage from his Absolution by the Council, except that of carrying the Character of a loyal Subject, to his Grave. After this, *Alexander* gave the Command of the auxiliary Horse to two of his Friends, namely, to *Hephestion* the Son of *Amyntor*, and *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas*. And he thus divided these Troops, because he would not trust any One of his Friends with the sole Command of them, they being the best in his whole Army, both for Honour, and Martial Prowess. He then turn'd his Eyes upon those, who were antiently call'd *Agriaspæ*, but afterwards, *Euergetæ*, or *Bountiful*, who had assisted *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyses*, in his Expedition against the *Scythians*. Those, *Alexander* highly esteem'd, because their Predecessors had behaved themselves well; and when he heard, that they lived not after the Manner of the *Barbarians*, their Neighbours, but administer'd Justice, like the best order'd States of *Greece*, he declared them free, and gave them as much Land, out of the neighbouring Country, as they requested, because their Requests were moderate. In that Place, he sacrificed to *Apollo*; and then, having seiz'd upon <sup>3</sup> *Demetrius*, one of his Body-Guards, whom he suspected to be one of the Accomplices

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<sup>2</sup> We have no Account of his Death, in *Curtius*; nor of the Division of the Command of the auxiliary Horse, between *Clitus* and *Hephestion*.

<sup>3</sup> This Story of *Demetrius*, is placed, by *Curtius*, among the rest, *lib. vi. cap. 11. 36.* and he makes *Philotas*, after he had been stretch'd upon the Rack, to cast his Eyes around, and espying one *Calas*, desired him to come nigh, and then cried out to him, How canst thou endure to hear *Demetrius* lye thus, and have me rack'd again? — Poor *Philotas*! I cannot forbear pitying him myself: Tho', by the bye, this Speech of his, seems a little unlikely, as well as unreasonable; *Demetrius* not being seiz'd, till some Days after *Philotas* was dead.

of *Philotas*, he substituted *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus* in his Place.



C H A P. XXVIII.

ALEXANDER, after this, directed his March against *Bactria*, and *Bessus*; and, in his Way, having received Homage of the *Drangæ*, the *Gadrosi*, and *Arachoti*, he appointed *Menon* their Governor. He then proceeded to the *Indians*, adjacent to the *Arachoti*; all which Nations he subdued, but with the utmost Toil and Difficulty, his Soldiers passing thro' deep Snows, and enduring all the Extremities of Want: But when he had notice, that the *Arii* had again revolted, and that *Satibarzanes*, with Two thousand Horse which he had received from *Bessus*, had enter'd the Country, he dispatch'd *Artabazus* the *Persian*, with *Erigyus*, and *Caranus*, against them, and order'd *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Parthians*, to accompany them. A sharp Battle then happen'd, between the Troops of *Erigyus*, and *Caranus*, and those of *Satibarzanes*; and the *Barbarians* stood their Ground, till *Satibar-*

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<sup>1</sup> In this Country, *Curtius* tells us, *lib. vii. cap. 3. 13.* "the Army  
" suffer'd all the Extremities imaginable: Some were quite kill'd  
" with Cold; the Feet of some were numb'd; the Eyes of others  
" hurt; some, desiring to rest their wearied Limbs, and lying upon  
" the Snow, as soon as their Motion ceased, their natural Heat ceased  
" too.— He had assured us, just before, that they were then near  
" the North Pole, and now adds, "That the Air was so thick and foggy,  
" and the Light so dim, that they could scarce discern any Thing,  
" tho' it was ever so nigh."— What Reader, by such a Description,  
" would not imagine them to have been under the North Pole indeed?  
" I can assure mine, they were very far from it, being then in a Coun-  
" try which lies between the 34th and 40th Degree of Latitude, and,  
" of Consequence, it could not be much colder than *Greece*, or *Italy*.

*Zanes,*

*zanes*, encountering *Erigyus*, was <sup>2</sup> struck in the Face with a Dart, and died of the Wound; but then, terrified at the Death of their General, they betook themselves to Flight. *Alexander* then marching to Mount *Caucasus*, built a City there, which he named *Alexandria*; and having offered Sacrifices to the Gods, after the Custom of his Country, pass'd over the Mountains. He left the Government of this Land in the Hands of <sup>3</sup> *Proexes* the *Persian*, and appointed his Friend *Niloxenus* the Son of *Satyrus* to remain there, with his Army. Mount <sup>4</sup> *Caucasus*, according to *Aristobulus's* Account, rises to as great a Height as any Mountain in all *Asia*, and the Surface thereof, in that Part where *Alexander* view'd it, was bare: It also stretches out to such a mighty Length, that some reckon Mount *Taurus*, which crosses *Cilicia*, and *Pamphylia*, to be a Branch thereof; as also many other high Mountains, which vary their Names, according to the variety of Nations, inhabiting near them. Nothing but *Sylpbium*, and the Turpentine-Tree, grow there, according to the same Author; notwithstanding which, it is very populous, and Multitudes of Sheep and Neat Cattle are seen there; for they feed upon *Sylpbium*, and the Sheep especially are so fond thereof, that if they chance to smell it at a Distance,

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 4. 33, &c. makes *Erigyus* and *Satibarzanes* challenge each other, in as formal, and almost as formidable a Manner, as any two of our modern Bear-garden Gladiators; after which, "*Satibarzanes*, he tells us, threw the first Dart, which *Erigyus* avoided, by stooping forward, and clapping Spurs to his Horse, he run his Spear so far into his Adversary's Throat, that it came out behind. This bore him off his Horse; yet still he struggled; but *Erigyus*, drawing the Weapon out of his Throat, struck it into his Mouth: The Barbarian himself helped the Thrust, and died immediately."

<sup>3</sup> *Proexes* and *Niloxenus* are not mentioned by *Curtius*.

<sup>4</sup> This was call'd Mount *Caucasus* by *Alexander's* Soldiers, tho' the Inhabitants call'd it *Parapamisus*.



they immediately haste thither, and having cropt the Flower, even dig up, and gnaw the Root; for which reason, some of the *Cyreneans*, keep their Sheep at a Distance from the Places where the *Sylphium* grows, and others inclose it with a Fence, lest their Sheep should smell it, if too nigh, or break in and devour it; for it is, there, very valuable. *Bessus*, with those who were his, Accomplices in the Treachery against *Darius*, besides <sup>s</sup> Seven thousand *Bactrians*, and *Dacæ*, who inhabited the Country beyond the *Tanais*, had laid all the Country about *Caucasus* waste, to the Intent, that the Desolation thereof, and the Want of all Necessaries, might put a Stop to *Alexander's* Progress. But he, nevertheless, march'd forwards, tho' with extream Difficulty, by reason of the Depth of the Snow, and Scarcity of Provisions. As soon as *Bessus* understood, that *Alexander* was not far off, he pass'd the River *Oxus*, with his Forces, and having immediately burnt the Vessels, which they had used in ferrying over, retired to *Nautaca*, a City of *Sogdia*. He was attended thither, by *Spitamenes*, and *Oxyartes*, with the *Sogdian* Horse, and *Dacæ*, from the River *Tanais*; but the *Bactrian* Horse, perceiving that he had no Hopes of Safety remaining, but what he placed in a precipitate Flight, fell away from him, by degrees, and return'd to their own Country.

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<sup>s</sup> *Curtius* calls them Eight thousand.





## C H A P. XXIX.

ALEXANDER then halted to *Drapfaca*, where having refreshed his Army, he moved thence, against *Aornus*, and *Bactra*, the chief Cities of the *Bactrians*; which being immediately surrender'd to him, he placed a Garrison in the Castle of *Aornus*, and making *Archelaus* the Son of *Androcles*, one of his Friends, Governor thereof, and all the rest of the Country being easily reduced, <sup>1</sup> *Artabazus* the *Persian* was appointed their President. He then led his Army to the River *Oxus*. This River has its Rise from Mount *Caucasus*, and is the greatest in all *Asia*, which *Alexander* pass'd over with his Army, except those of *India*: It discharges its Waters into the great Sea, nigh *Hyrcania*. <sup>2</sup> When *Alexander* came to this River, he found no Possibility of passing over it; for its Breadth was full six Furlongs; its Depth proportionable to a greater Breadth, and the Bottom

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 5. 1. mentions *Artabazus*, as promoted to the Government of *Bactria*, but takes no notice of *Archelaus* the Son of *Androcles*, who was made Governor of the Castle of *Aornus*. He tells us, lib. vi. cap. 5. 4. that *Artabazus* was Ninety-five Years old, when he came to *Alexander* in *Hyrcania*, and brought his Nine Sons along with him.—If so, I should imagine, some or other of them much fitter to keep the Country in Subjection than he, who was just stepping into his Grave.

<sup>2</sup> The Rise and Course of other Rivers, which were nothing to his purpose, *Curtius* has taken so much Pains to describe, that he has entirely omitted the Description of this, perhaps because it was. *Arrian's* Account of it here, is very fine; and what makes it material, is, because *Alexander* found so much Difficulty in passing over it. *Curtius*, indeed, mentions his passing his Army over, on Skins stuff'd with Straw, lib. vii. cap. 5. 18. but is entirely silent, as to the Breadth, Depth, or Rapidity of the Current.

sandy:

**Sandy:** Its Stream was so rapid, as suddenly to root out, and sweep away, whatever Piles were driven down into the Bottom, which could not be firmly fixed, by reason of the looseness of the Sand. Add to this, that he had no Materials ready for the building a Bridge; and it would have taken up too much of his Time, to have convey'd every thing necessary for that purpose thither, from Parts so far distant. Having, therefore, order'd all the Skins, which they used for their Tents, to be gathered together, he commanded them to be filled with any light and dry Matter they could find, and carefully bound up, and stitch'd, to prevent the Water from entering; upon which Skins, so stuff'd out, and sew'd up, in the Space of five Days, he convey'd his whole Army safe over. But before he attempted to pass this River, he fought out such of the <sup>3</sup> *Macedonians*, as were render'd unfit for Service, either by Age or Wounds, and such of the *Thessalians* as had chosen to remain in their Tents, and sent them back into their own Country. He then dispatch'd *Stafanor*, one of his Friends, into the Territories of the *Arii*, to seize <sup>4</sup> *Arfames* the Governor there, (who was endeavouring to stir up his People to a Revolt) and take the Care of that Province upon himself. Having, therefore, pass'd over the River *Oxus*, he march'd, with his Forces,

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 5. 27. tells us, they were in Number about Nine hundred; and says, "Alexander commanded them to return home, and get Children, who might do him as good Service, as they had done." This, he says, happen'd after they had pass'd the *Oxus*.

<sup>4</sup> That this *Arfames* is the same whom *Arrian* mentions chap. 25. is indisputable; the former Name being only an Error of a  $\kappa$  instead of a  $\mu$ . But who he was, is not so easy to learn. It could not be the same whom *Darius* made Governor of *Cilicia*, and who fled from *Tarjús*; for he was slain at the Battle of *Iffus*. I am therefore of Opinion, it was one of the Sons of *Artabazus*, mentioned chap. 23.

towards

towards the Place, where he heard that *Bessus*, and his Army, lay encamp'd: but in the mean time, arrived Messengers from *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*, who assured him, that if he would send any of his Captains thither, with a small Party, they would deliver *Bessus* Prisoner into his Hands; for they had already apprehended him, tho' they had not yet bound him with Fetters. When *Alexander* understood this, he slacken'd his Pace, and moved easily forwards, with his Army, but order'd *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, with three Troops of the auxiliary Horse, and all his Archers on Horseback, as also *Philotas's* Regiment of Foot, besides a Thousand Targeteers, all his *Agrians*, and half of his Archers, to make the best of his Way to *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*. *Ptolemy* having accordingly march'd Ten ordinary Days Journey, in Four Days space, arrived at the Place where *Spitamenes* and the *Barbarians* had encamp'd the Night before.

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<sup>s</sup> The Manner of their apprehending *Bessus*, is well worth the Observation, in *Curtius*, it being full as romantick, as any of the rest of his Stratagems. See it, *Curt. lib. vii. cap. 5*. I have not room to transcribe it.

<sup>6</sup> This Circumstance, of *Alexander's* sending *Ptolemy*, with the Forces under his Command, to receive *Bessus*, is omitted by *Curtius*.



C H A P. XXX.

THERE, *Ptolemy* was assured, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not fully resolved, in their own Minds, about the Delivery of *Bessus*. Wherefore, leaving his Foot behind, and commanding them to follow in Order, he hasted forward with his Horse, till he came to a certain <sup>1</sup> Village, where *Bessus* was, with a few of his Soldiers: For those with *Spitamenes* had quitted the Place, because they would not seem to be guilty of betraying him. *Ptolemy* having surrounded the Village with his Horse, (for it was wall'd round) order'd Proclamation to be made, That the Inhabitants should not receive any Harm, if they would deliver up *Bessus*. The *Barbarians* hearing this, open'd their Gates, and *Ptolemy*, with his Forces, enter'd the Village, where, having seiz'd *Bessus*, he return'd to *Alexander*; but first of all, dispatch'd a Messenger to inquire, after what Manner *Bessus* should be brought into his Presence: Who return'd Answer, That he should be brought chained, and naked, and afterwards placed on the Right Hand Side of the Way, along which he was to pass, with his Army. When *Alexander* saw him, he caus'd his Chariot to stop, and ask'd him, What induc'd him to seize upon *Darius*, his Sovereign, and his Friend, and who had always deserved well at his Hands, and after having seiz'd, and led him about Prisoner, to

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 5. 37. makes *Spitamenes* deliver *Bessus* up himself, on purpose to have the Opportunity of putting a fine Speech into his Mouth; but he is contradicted by *Arrian*.

murder

murder him? To whom *Bessus* reply'd, That it was not his Act, nor done by his Advice alone, but it was the general Opinion of all then present, that it would procure them the Favour of *Alexander*. He then order'd *Bessus* to be whipt, and the upbraiding Speech he had first made to him, to be proclaim'd aloud, by a Crier. *Bessus*, thus punished, was sent into *Bactria*, there to be put to <sup>2</sup> Death. Thus far *Ptolemy*. But *Aristobulus's* Account of this Affair, is, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes's* Soldiers delivered *Bessus* into *Ptolemy's* Hands, and that he was then brought chained, and naked, to *Alexander*. *Alexander* having received the Horses he there expected, to remount his Cavalry, (for he had lost many Horses, in his Passage over Mount *Caucasus*, as well as in his March towards the River *Oxus*, and his Departure from thence) march'd streight to <sup>3</sup> *Maracanda*, in which City stands the Royal Palace of the *Sogdians*, and afterwards, to the River *Tanais*. This River (which, *Aristobulus* says, has the Name of <sup>4</sup> *Orxantes*, among the neighbouring Inhabitants) owes its Rise to Mount *Caucasus*, and discharges its Waters into the *Hyrcanian Sea*. There is another *Tanais*, whereof *Herodotus* the Historian makes mention, as the Eighth River of *Scythia*, and adds, that it has its Origine from a great Lake, and loses itself at last, in one much greater, namely, the Lake of *Mæotis*; that some

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<sup>2</sup> The Manner of *Bessus's* Death, is related *lib. iv. cap. 7.* where the various Opinions of Authors concerning it, shall be shew'd.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* makes *Alexander* pass the *Tanais* first, *lib. vii. cap. 5. 36.* and afterwards arrive at *Maracanda*, *cap. 6. 10.* but erroneously; for *Maracanda* lies on this Side that River.

<sup>4</sup> This River *Orxantes*, or *Jaxyrtus*, or *Sylis*, according to *Pliny*, is the Boundary between the *Sogdians*; and the *Asiatic Scythians*. *Strabo*, and *Arrian*, assure us, it was call'd *Tanais* by the *Macedonian* Soldiers: they mistook the *Caspian Sea*, for the *Pontick Sea*; and *Curtius* confounds it with the other *Tanais*, which separates *Asia* from *Europe*.

place this *Tanais*; as the Boundary of *Europe* and *Asia*; for this River falling into the *Palus Mæotis*, and that, afterwards into the *Euxine Sea*, parts *Europe* and *Asia*, in the same manner as the Sea between *Gades*, and the opposite Shore of *Numidia*, disjoins *Europe* from *Africa*; or as the River *Nilus* separates *Africa* from another Part of *Asia*. Here, (namely, at this River *Tanais*) some of the *Macedonian* Horse, foraging at a great Distance, were surprized, and slain, by the *Barbarians*, who were gathered together, to the Number of about 'Thirty thousand, and who, after this Exploit, betook them to a high Mountain, steep and rugged, and every way difficult to ascend. Against these, *Alexander*, with the swiftest, and lightest arm'd Troops of his whole Army, suddenly directed his March. The *Mace-*

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<sup>s</sup> Their Number, according to *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 1. was but Twenty thousand; tho' he tells the Story different: "They were," says he, a Party of Robbers, and their Way of fighting was with "Slings and Arrows. *Alexander* besieged them, and venturing himself in the foremost Ranks, was wounded by an Arrow, in the Leg, and carried back to his Tent, by the sorrowful and dejected *Macedonians*. However, the *Barbarians*, who discern'd the Passages of the Fight, from an Eminence, sending Embassadors the next Day, they were introduced into his Presence, and he shewing them "his Leg, they express'd an exceeding Concern at it, and, to convince him of their Sincerity for his Safety, protested, that if the Wretch, who shot the Arrow, could be found out, he should be immediately delivered up."—A very likely Story! I warrant, they had all try'd, and would have been glad if they could have kill'd him, the Day before; but it was not Time, now, to tell him so. — However, he proceeds; "For it belonged only to the Sacrilegious, "to fight with the Gods."—Who would imagine, that a parcel of Robbers, could have such Qualms of Conscience! — "Therefore, they came and submitted themselves, and their Country, to his "Protection."—That is, because they look'd upon him as a God, they submitted themselves, &c. Had he been a Devil; he had been much fitter for them, whose whole Lives were spent in Murder, Rapine, and Injustice. — However, he goes on; "Having taken "Hostages, he received them into Favour."—If this Story be true, it is a very strange one; and whether it be true or false, it is a very ridiculous one.

*denians*, in several of their first Attempts to dislodge the Mountaineers, were beat back by the *Barbarians*, and many of them wounded; even *Alexander* himself, was shot thro' the Leg, with an Arrow, whereby the *Fibula*, or lesser Bone thereof, was broke. However, at last, the Mountain was gain'd, and many of the *Barbarians* slain, by the *Macedonians*; many others also threw themselves headlong from the Rocks, and perished: So that, of Thirty thousand, who endeavoured to maintain that Post, scarce Eight thousand made their Escape.







*A R R I A N*'s  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
ALEXANDER'S Expedition.

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B O O K IV.

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C H A P. I.



FEW Days after, came Embassadors to *Alexander*, from the *Scythians*, named *Abii*, (whom *Homer*, in his Work, commends, as the justest Nation upon Earth: These are Inhabitants of *Asia*, subject to no Laws, by reason of their Poverty, and their exact Distribution of Justice) and with them, came also Embassadors from the *European Scythians*; for a great Nation of the *Scythians* inhabits *Europe*. *Alexander* sent some of his Friends, to attend those, on their Return home, under a Pretext indeed, of settling a Friendship with them, by an Embassy, but, in reality, that he might know the Situation of their Country, the Number of their Inhabitants, the Stature of their Bodies, and what kind

of Arms they use in Battle. In the mean time, he resolved to build a City near the Banks of the River <sup>1</sup> *Tanais*, and have it call'd after his own Name; for the Place seem'd extreamly commodious for that purpose, and a fit Situation (whenever Occasion should offer) for an Expedition against the *Scythians*; and not only so, but it would also serve as a Fortrefs, to secure the Country on this Side the River, from the Incurfions of those on the other. He also conjectured, that this City would become great, as well by reason of the Numbers of its future Inhabitants, as by its being dignified with such a Name. In the mean time, the *Barbarians* inhabiting the Country near the River, having seiz'd the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who had been appointed to guard the Cities of *Scythia*, put them to Death; and, for their greater Security, fortified their Cities. Many of the *Sogdians* join'd with them in this Revolt, being stirr'd up to it by those who had taken <sup>2</sup> *Bessus*; some of the *Bactrians* also sided with them, either

<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* perpetually mistakes this *Orcantes*, or *Indian Tanais*, which falls into the *Caspian Sea*, for the other *Tanais*, which discharges its Waters into the *Palus Maotis*; and as an Instance of his amazing Skill in Geography, he assures us, *lib. vii. cap. 7. 2.* that "the same River *Tanais*, which separates *Europe* from *Asia*, divides "*Bactria* from *Scythia Europea*, which Country reaches nigh *Thrace*, "to the North Eastward, and does not only border upon, but, as some "think, is a Part of *Sarmatia*: Right forward, it joins with the "*Alauni*, beyond the River *Ister*, &c." — Here, the whole Country between these two Rivers is entirely set aside, and lost, and there is such a crowding, and jostling, and thrusting, and elbowing Places out of the Situation which Nature gave them, as you will scarce meet with, in any other Author. 'Tis a pity but those wise Geographers, who remove Towns, Countries, Rivers, and Mountains out of their antient Stations, should be obliged to bring them back, at their own Cost and Charges.

<sup>2</sup> Those who caused *Bessus* to be deliver'd up to *Alexander*, were *Spitamenes*, and *Dataphernes*. *Curtius*, *lib. vii. cap. 5.* tells us a long Story of *Spitamenes*, and gives us two or three fine Speeches of his, to *Alexander*, with their Answers, as if *Spitamenes* had brought *Bessus*, and surrender'd him himself. However, *Arrian* assures us, that

either because they were afraid of *Alexander*, or, as the Report then went, because *Alexander* had fix'd the Meeting of the Presidents of that Province to be held at *Zariaspa*, from which Convention they predicted no Good to themselves.



C H A P. II.

WHEN these Things were told to *Alexander*, he order'd all his Foot, according to their several Cohorts, to furnish themselves with Ladders; and he march'd, with his Forces, to the City which lay nighest the Army, call'd ' *Gaza*; (for the *Barbarians* of that Country were reported to have seiz'd upon Seven Cities) he dispatch'd *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greatest of these Cities, and into which, most of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the Walls, to draw a Ditch and Rampart round the City, and plant his Engines, where ever he thought convenient; so that the Citizens there, finding Employment enough, to defend themselves at home, might not be able to succour other Places elsewhere. As soon as he approach'd *Gaza*, he order'd the Wall, which was but of Mud, and low built, to be assaulted, and

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that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* only left him, in a Village, to be taken, and then march'd forwards, into the more remote Parts of *Sogdia*.

<sup>1</sup> The Siege of this City is not taken notice of by *Curtius*, nor the Name thereof so much as mentioned; only one slight Hint is given, *lib. vii. cap. 6. 16.* that " while *Craterus* lay before *Cyropolis*, *Alexander* took another City by Storm, wherein he put all the Youth to the Sword, and made the rest Prisoners of War; which done, " he quite demolished it, to deter others from revolting." — This is, probably, meant of the same Place: however, what is here said, may almost as well be said of any other Siege.

his Scaling-Ladders every where got ready. Then his Slingers, and Archers, and Darters, mix'd with the Foot, beginning the Attack, smote the Besieged with missive Weapons, and, at the same time, gall'd them with Darts from their Engines, insomuch that the Walls were deserted by the *Barbarians*, and the Ladders being immediately fix'd, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering the City, kill'd all the Men they met (for so *Alexander* had commanded); but the Women, and Children, and the Riches of the Place were given as Spoil to the Soldiers. Thence, he moved to another of those Cities, which was built, and fortified like the former; which he assaulted, and took the same Day, and disposed of the Captives in the same Manner. Thence, proceeding to the <sup>2</sup> third City, on the next Day, he took it, at the first Attack. In the mean time, while He, at the Head of his Troops of Foot, was busied in reducing those Places, he dispatch'd his Horse to other two Cities, not far off, with Orders to take care, that the Citizens, when they heard of the storming of their Neighbour-Towns, and his nigh Approach, should not betake themselves to Flight, and so render it a difficult Task for him to overtake them. And as he thought, so it happen'd, that the Dispatch of these Troops thither, was necessary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two Cities, not yet taken, seeing the Smoke of that over-against them, which was then on Fire, (and besides, some who had escaped out of that Calamity, bringing them the News) they fled out of both the

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* has given us an Account but of two or three Cities, at the most, which were besieged, and taken by *Alexander*, in this Country; whereas *Arrian* assures us, there were seven, and takes notice of the taking of each of them. Whether those People, whom *Curtius* calls the *Memaceni*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 17. might not be the Inhabitants of some of these seven Cities, I know not; perhaps they might. If so, he has made mention of three. However, the *Memaceni* are spoke of by no Author, except himself.

Cities, as fast as they could ; but falling in among the Horse, posted for that purpose, were most of them slain.



### C H A P. III.

THESE five Cities, thus taken, and destroy'd, in two Days ; he hasted to *Cyropolis*, the greatest, and most populous of the whole Country. It was furrounded with a Wall, much higher than any of the rest, and was built by *Cyrus* ; and, as many *Barbarians*, both stout and warlike, had fled for Shelter thither, it was not to be supposed, that the *Macedonians* should gain it at the first Assault. Wherefore, *Alexander* having planted his Engines in Places convenient, determined to batter the Wall, and where-ever he made a Breach, to storm the Place : But finding the Channel of the River, which usually run thro' the Town like a Torrent, at that Time dry, and the Wall disjoin'd, so as to afford an Entrance for his Soldiers, He, with his Body-Guards, his Targeteers, his Archers, and *Agrians*, (while the *Barbarians* were employ'd in guarding themselves from the Engines, and the Assailants) privately enter'd the City, at first, with a few Men, thro'

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\* We are told by *Curcius*, that *Alexander* dispatch'd *Craterus* to besiege *Cyropolis*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 16. tho' it is evident from *Arrian*, that he was rather sent to block it up, and hinder its Inhabitants from succouring their Neighbours. However, presently after, he seems to forget himself; for he adds, " that *Alexander* order'd *Perdiccas*, and *Mylenger*, who were besieging *Cyropolis*, to raise the Siege, and come and join his Army, then lying before the City of the *Memaceni*." — I wonder where *Craterus* was then, or where the other two were before. That the Blockade of *Cyropolis* was not raised, is manifest from *Arrian*; so that the whole Story of the *Memaceni*, looks like a Fiction.

that<sup>2</sup> Channel, and having burst open the Gates, nigh that Part, gave an easy Admittance to the rest. The *Barbarians* then, notwithstanding they perceived their City taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a sharp Battle ensued, wherein *Alexander* himself received a Blow on the Head and Neck, with a Stone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his Captains were wounded with missive Weapons. However, the *Barbarians* were at last driven out of the *Forum*. In the mean time, those who batter'd the Wall, seeing it void of Defendants, took it, and at their first Entrance, slew about Eight thousand of the Enemy. The rest (for the whole Number, there gathered together, was Eighteen thousand) retired into the Castle: But these, when *Alexander* had continued his Siege but one Day, being destitute of Water, surrender'd the Place. Thence, moving to the seventh City, he took it at the first Assault. *Ptolemey*, indeed, says, it was deliver'd up without fighting; but *Aristobulus*, on the contrary, affirms, that it was taken by Storm, and all who were found therein, slain. *Ptolemey* tells us, that the Captives were dispersed throughout the Army, and kept chained, till he should depart out of that Country, lest any of those, who had occasioned the Revolt, should be left.

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<sup>2</sup> *Arrian* gives us a far more particular Relation of this Siege, than either *Curtius*, or any other Author. *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 21. tells us, that *Alexander* caused the Walls to be undermined, and entered thro' the Breach; whereas *Arrian* affirms, that, at that Time, there was no Occasion for undermining the Wall, the Channel of the River, which was then dry, affording a sufficient Space, for a few, to enter unobserved; and these, having burst open a Gate, gave a speedy Entrance to the rest. The Circumstance of *Alexander's* receiving a Blow on the Neck, with a Stone, is confirm'd by *Curtius*, and *Plutarch*; only *Plutarch* (relying, perhaps, too much on his Memory) says, it happen'd in *Hyrcania*, and adds, that his Eyes were so much damaged thereby, that he was afraid of losing his Sight, for several Days. See *Plut. de Fortuna Alex. lib. ii. c. 21.* *Curtius* has confounded this Siege with that of the *Memaceni*.

About this Time, an Army of *Asiatick Scythians*, assembled on the Banks of the River *Tanais*, because they had heard, that some *Barbarians*, on the other Side, had revolted from *Alexander*, that if the Revolt was any thing considerable, they might also fall off from the *Macedonians*. Then came News to *Alexander*, that *Spitamenes* had besieged those whom he had left in Garrison in the Castle of <sup>3</sup> *Maracanda*; wherefore, having dispatch'd <sup>4</sup> *Andromachus*, *Menedemus*, and *Caranus*, with Sixty of his auxiliary Horse, and Eight hundred Mercenaries, under the Command of *Caranus*, and about

<sup>3</sup> "The City *Maracanda*, says *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 10. is surrounded with a Wall of Seventy Furlongs in Compass; but the Castle has no Wall round it." — No! What has it then? — Why, say some of his Commentators, "it is, perhaps, seated on so high a Rock, that its Situation serves instead of a Wall." — Suppose it be, How can any natural Rock, was it as high as the Atmosphere, be properly call'd a Castle? Others of his Commentators have found out another Way to bring him off, by alledging, that the *nullo Muro* there, is an Error, and ought to be *Muro illius*. And so may I say, with as much Truth, it ought to be any thing else. However, let us see what they will get by making it *Muro illius*. The Sense of the Paragraph will then run thus: "The City has a Wall of Seventy Furlongs in Compass; but the Castle is surrounded with its Wall." — If by this, is meant, that the Castle has no Wall, but what is common to the Town, it is then only a Part of the Town, and no Castle at all. If it has a Wall of its own, and there be no Communication between it and the Town, the Town is never the better for it, and it might as well have been upon *Salisbury Plain*: But if it has a Wall, as well to divide it from the Town, as to secure it from an Enemy, with a safe Communication between it and the Town, why was not this Wall taken notice of by *Curtius*, as well as that of the Town?

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* gives us an Account only of *Menedemus*, lib. vii. cap. 6. 24. and acquaints us, that *Spitamenes* had driven the *Macedonian* Garrison out of the Castle of *Maracanda*, whereupon *Alexander* dispatch'd *Menedemus*, with Three thousand Foot, and Eight hundred Horse, to put a Stop to his Career. — *Arrian*, tho' he joins *Andromachus* and *Caranus* with him, makes the Number of Foot no more than One thousand five hundred. As to *Spitamenes's* driving out the Garrison, *Arrian* affirms the contrary, and tells us, in the Fifth Chapter of this Book, that he did, indeed, lay Siege to the Castle, but the *Macedonians* making an unexpected Sally, and he hearing that a Reinforcement was nigh, broke up the Siege, and retired from before it.

One thousand and five hundred mercenary Foot; over those he appointed *Pharmuces* the Interpreter, a *Lycian*, skill'd in the *Barbarian* Language, and well qualified to treat with them. He surrounded the City, which he was now building, with a Wall, in twenty Days space, and gave it for a Residence to some *Greek* Mercenaries, and to all such *Barbarians* as had a mind to inhabit there; as also to some *Macedonians*, who were become unfit for Service.



## C H A P. IV.

**T**HEN, offering Sacrifices to the Gods, according to the Custom of his Country, and having exhibited *Equestrian* and *Gymnick* Exercises, when he saw that the *Scythians* retired not from the Banks of the *Tanais*, but threw their Darts across the River, (which was not broad there) and used reviling Speeches, according to their barbarous manner, giving out, that *Alexander* durst not encounter them, or if he did, he should soon feel the Difference, between them, and the *Asiatick Barbarians*: He, enraged at this, resolved to pass over to them; and accordingly, ordered the Skins, which cover'd their Tents, to be made ready. Then, Sacrifices being offer'd, for their safe Passage, the Omens proved inauspicious. This, he took very ill,

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<sup>5</sup> " *Alexander*, says *Curtius*, *lib. vii. cap. 6. 25.* returned to the " River *Tanais*, where he inclosed, with a Wall, as much Ground as " his Camp had taken up, which was Sixty Furlongs in Compass, " and caused the Town, he built therein, to be call'd *Alexandria*. " The Walls, and Houses, he afterwards tells us, were compleated in " seventeen Days."

<sup>1</sup> We have a merry Dialogue in *Curtius*, *lib. vii. cap. 7, 8. &c.* which pass'd between the King, and *Aristander* the Soothsayer, at this



ill, but bore it with Patience, and kept his Station : But the *Scythians* still persisting in their Scoffs, he again sacrificed, for a safe Passage ; and notwithstanding *Aristander* assured him, that the Omens still portended Danger, *Alexander* replied, That he had rather run the extreamest Hazard, than, after having subdued almost all *Asia*, to be a Sport to the *Scythians*, as *Darius* the Father of *Xerxes* had formerly been. *Aristander* protested, that he told him the divine Portents, truly and faithfully, tho' *Alexander* had much rather have heard a different Relation. However, having prepared the Skins for ferrying over, and his arm'd Troops now ready to enter the River, upon a Sign given, he order'd his Engineers to gall the *Scythians*, upon the opposite Bank, with Darts. This was accordingly done, and some of the Enemy were wounded, and one, in particular, losing his Shield, and Breastplate, fell from his Horse. The *Barbarians*, terrified at the Strength of their Engines, which could cast Darts at such a Distance, and at the Loss of so stout a

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this River. The King had an Ambition to pass over it, and encounter the *Scythians*, on the other Side ; and accordingly, commanded *Aristander* to sacrifice, and foretel the Event. While the Sacrifice was preparing, the King made a fine Speech, declaring his Resolution to pass over. His Friends, or chief Officers, endeavoured to dissuade him, especially *Erigylus*, who told him, he had heard *Aristander* say, that the Gods were against this Journey, and the Omens were inauspicious. Hereupon, the King calling *Aristander*, reprimanded him severely, for presuming to declare the Omens to any but himself, and all in a Rage, commanded him to tell his Thoughts, that he might hear, if they agreed with the Report. The Soothsayer, after some humming and hawing, told the King, to please him, That the Attempt would, indeed, be difficult, but not fruitless ; and that the King's present Indisposition was the only Obstacle, he could perceive by his Art. *Alexander* then commanded him to retire, while he advised with his Council, concerning the Passage over. However, he (the Soothsayer) soon returned, and declared, he had sacrificed again, and found a vast Alteration in the Intrails, for they appeared now, as auspicious as ever he had seen. — Who cannot perceive, by all this, that the Priest was a Tool to the General, and forced to speak what he knew would please him best ?

Man,

Man, retired a little from the River. *Alexander* seeing the Effect of his missive Weapons, ferry'd over, with Trumpets sounding; and his whole Army followed. The Archers, and Slingers being the first, which arriv'd on the other Side, they begun to gall the Enemy with Stones, and Arrows, and kept them from falling upon the Phalanx, which was then passing over; and this they continued, till all the Forces were safe landed. When this was performed, he first of all sent one Troop of the auxiliary Horse, and four Cohorts of Spearmen,

\* The Story of this Action, is told somewhat different by *Curtius*; but I have not room to insist on the Particulars. He seldom relates the Success of a Battle, but he obliges us with a fine Speech first. Here, *lib. vii. cap. 8. 8.* he tells us a Story of the *Scythians* sending Twenty Embassadors to *Alexander*, to dissuade, or rather deter him from passing over the River: One of them was Spokefman; but perhaps they laid their Heads together, to pen the Speech; However that be, it is much more florid than just, and favours too rank of the *Rostrom*, to have us imagine, it came from a *Barbarian*. "Had the Gods, says he to *Alexander*, given thee a Body equal to the Largeness of thy Soul, the whole Universe would not contain thee. "With one Hand, thou wouldst grasp the East, and with the other, the West, and be ambitious of knowing where the Sun ends his Course. From *Asia*, thou passest into *Europe*; from thence, into *Asia* again; and should Men be wanting, to wage War with, you give Reason to believe, you would encounter Woods, Mountains, Rivers, and even wild Beasts." — Had such Stuff as this, been really spoke to *Alexander*, he would have broke the Embassadors Heads, and dismiss'd them, without any other Answer. However, after this *Scythian* had continued his Speech to the Length of two whole Pages, he concludes, by assuring *Alexander*, "that he might use them as his Keepers both of *Europe* and *Asia*; for between us and *Bactria*, says he, is only the River *Tanais*, beyond which, we inhabit, as far as *Thrace*; to which, if Fame deceives us not, your Kingdom of *Macedonia* joins. Since therefore, we border on this acquired, and your other hereditary Kingdom, whether you will have us Friends or Foes, we leave to your mature Consideration." — Sure *Alexander* must be strangely besotted, if (after he had pass'd thro' so many vast Countries, to the Eastward) he imagin'd himself still within the Smoke of his Mother's Chimney: He, and the Embassadors, whoever they were, knew much better than so, only *Curtius* did not, and would therefore fain persuade us, that the Embassadors, and even *Alexander*, were as ignorant as himself.

against

against the *Scythians*, whose Shock the Enemy easily bore, and furrounding them with their Horfe, being a multitude, against a few, readily recover'd their Ranks. *Alexander* then difpatch'd his Archers, and *Agrians*, and other light-arm'd Foot, under the Command of *Balacrus*, and order'd them to mix with three Troops of auxiliary Horfe, and all the Darters on Horfeback, and proceed againft the Enemy ; He himfelf, with the reft of the Horfe, defigning to attack them on the other Side. And now they were no longer able to draw up their Forces, in the fame circular manner, they did before ; for the *Macedonian* Horfe, preffing them on one hand, and the light-arm'd Foot, mix'd among the Horfe, on the other, hinder'd them from fhewing their Dexterity that way. Then their Flight was apparent, about <sup>3</sup> a Thoufand of their Number being flain upon the Spot, and among the reft, one of their Generals, named *Satracus* ; and One hundred and fifty were taken Prifoners. But when he proceeded to purfue the *Scythians*, his whole Army were fo overcome with exceffive Heat, that they were ready to die with Thirft ; even *Alexander* himfelf, having drunk fome corrupted Water, fuch as the Country afforded, was thereby thrown into a violent Flux, which hinder'd the Purfuit ; otherwife, the whole *Scythian* Army had, in all probability, been either cut off, in their Flight, or taken Captives : but he was brought back to the Camp, in great Danger of his Life ; and thereby the Prophecy of *Aristander* was accomplifhed.

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* gives us no Account, what Number of *Scythians* perifhed in this Fight ; but tells us, *lib. vii. cap. 9. 17.* that the *Macedonians* loft Sixty Horfe, and about One hundred Foot ; and had a Thoufand wounded.



## C H A P. V.

SOON after this, arrived Embassadors from the King of these *Scythians*, endeavouring to excuse the Fact, as not done by the general Consent of the whole *Scythian* Nation, but by a Party, who exercised Robbery, and lived by Spoil; but assuring him, that they were willing to receive his Commands. *Alexander* return'd them a courteous Answer, as neither deeming it prudent to seem to suspect the Truth of the Excuse they made, nor to revenge his Cause, by giving them Battle, which it was no ways convenient for him, at that Juncture, to attempt. In the mean time, the *Macedonians* who were besieged in the Castle of *Maracanda*, when *Spitamenes*, with his Forces, assaulted them, made a sudden Excursion, and having kill'd some of the Besiegers, and put the rest to Flight, return'd safe into the Castle; and News afterwards coming to *Spitamenes*, that the Forces design'd for the Relief of the Besieged in the Castle of *Maracanda*, were at hand, he raised the Siege of that Place, and retired towards the capital City of the *Sogdian* Kingdom: *Pharnuces*, and his Forces, pursued him as far as the Confines of *Sogdia*, but not being able to overtake him, fell accidentally upon a Party of <sup>1</sup> *Nomadian Scythians*, and irritated them to that degree,

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<sup>1</sup> We have this Story told vastly different by *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 7. 31. and something more agreeable to that of *Aristobulus*, in the following Chapter; but all the while, he gives us not one Word either of *Andromachus*, *Caranus*, or *Pharnuces*. "When *Menedemus*, says he, who was sent to besiege *Spitamenes*.— This is a Mistake; for the *Macedonians* still kept Possession of the Castle, and *Spitamenes* was only endeavouring to wrest it out of their Hands.—" approach'd  
" the

degree, that about Six hundred Horse of them, hasted and join'd *Spitamenes*, who, receiving such a Recruit, was resolved to revenge the late Insult of the *Macedonians*; to which end, drawing up his Forces, in a plain Place, on the Edge of the *Scythian* Wilderness, he determined neither to wait for the Enemy, nor yet to meet, and attack them; but (taking a Compass with his Horse) to gall their Phalanx of Foot, with their Arrows. But *Phar-nuces* rushing forwards upon them, with his Horse, easily frustrated that Design, because their Horses, at that Time, were both swifter, and stronger than those of the *Scythians*: but <sup>2</sup> *Aristomachus's* Horse,

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" the City (*Marasanda*) *Spitamenes* being inform'd of his coming, laid an Ambuscade of *Daba*, in a Wood, thro' which he was to pass, who presently surrounded him; which, when *Menedemus* perceived, notwithstanding the Inequality of Numbers, he encouraged his Soldiers to make a brave Resistance, assuring them, there was no Hope left, but to revenge each other's Deaths, by the Slaughter of their Enemies. He himself was mounted on a strong Horse, with which he had often broke the Enemies Ranks, and put them to Flight; but being now attack'd on all Sides, and beginning to faint, thro' Loss of Blood, he order'd *Hipsides*, one of his Friends, to mount his Horse, and fly. He had no sooner said this, than his Breath ceased, and he fell from his Horse, and died." — This General might fight like a Dragon, but 'tis certain, he gave cowardly Advice to his Friend, at his Death; and besides, as he lost his Spirits, he seems to have lost his Senses; for he had, just before, told them, there was no way left, but to sell their Lives as dear as they could. However, now he forgets all that, and lends his Friend his Horse, to enable him to run away. But his Friend was more of a Man, than to take his Advice; — " For he, rushing among the thickest of his Enemies, after a memorable Resistance, was slain by a multitude of Darts. The rest, after the Death of their Commander, gain'd the Top of a Hill, and *Spitamenes* inclosed them, with a Design to starve them from thence." — Whether he did so or no, *Curtius* tells us not: but, methinks, as *Spitamenes* had inclosed them before, and cut most of them off, he needed only to have given himself the Trouble of marching up to the Top of the Hill, and he might have serv'd the rest the same Sauce. — He then proceeds to acquaint us, that the *Macedonians* lost Two thousand Foot, and Three hundred Horse, in that Battle.

<sup>2</sup> This is certainly an Error in the Copies of *Arrian*, and ought to be *Andromachus*; for no such Name as *Aristomachus* is to be found, for a vast way, either before this Place, or after.

wearied

wearied with hard Travel, and wasted for want of Food, were hard press'd by the *Scythians*, both while they stood their Ground, and when they retired. Many of them being, therefore, wounded with Arrows, and some slain, those who remain'd, drew up in a square Battalion, and retreated to the River *Polytimetus*, because there was a Wood adjacent to it, which would cover them, in a great measure, from the *Barbarians* Arrows, and which might also be useful to their Foot. *Caranus*, Captain of one of the Troops of Horse, without consulting with *Andromachus*, had already attempted to pass the River, because he thought his Horse might be safer on the further Side. The Foot followed the Horse, without any Orders, but as their Fears urged them forwards; this was the most disorderly Passage over a River, with steep Banks, that could be imagined. The *Barbarians* seeing the *Macedonians* thus at a Loss, enter'd the River, in several Places, with their Horse, and some of them attack'd those who endeavoured to pass over, but returned; some then placing themselves opposite to those who still went forwards, slew them in the River; others flanking them, gall'd them with their Arrows; whilst others again, rush'd upon those who had not yet enter'd the Water. The *Macedonians* seeing themselves press'd with so many Difficulties, retreated into a small Island, which the *Scythians*, and *Spitamenes* entirely surrounding, with their Horse, slew them all, with their Arrows, at a Distance, except a very few, whom they first seiz'd, and afterwards put to Death.





C H A P. VI.

**A**RISTOBULUS gives us an Account of this Action, somewhat different, namely, that the greatest part of the Army was cut off, by an Ambuscade of the *Scythians*, who, lying conceal'd in some adjoining Thickets, attack'd the *Macedonians* suddenly, and unexpectedly; he also tells us, that *Pharnuces* was willing to have resign'd his Post, as General of those Forces, who were with him, alledging his want of Skill in military Discipline, and that he was rather sent thither, by *Alexander*, to bring the *Barbarians* to Reason, by his Knowledge in their Language, than to reduce them by Force of Arms, as a General: He also declared, that the *Macedonians*, then committed to his Care, were the King's Friends, as well as the rest. But *Andromachus*, and *Menedemus*, and *Caranus* refused to act as Generals, partly because they would not seem to exceed the Commission, which they had received from the King, and partly because the Forces were then reduced to such Streights, as render'd it unsafe for them to accept it; for they well consider'd, that if any Disaster happen'd, they were not, then, each to give an Account for their several Parts in that Loss, but that the ill Success of the whole Army would be laid to their Charge. In this Confusion, and Hurry of Affairs, the *Scythians* rush'd, suddenly, upon them, and cut them almost all off; so that not above Forty Horse, and about Three hundred Foot escaped. When *Alexander* heard this News, he was enraged at the Loss of his Soldiers, and therefore determined speedily to march, with an Army, against *Spitamenes*, and the *Barbarians*; and taking with him the half of his auxiliary Horse,

with all his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, and some of his light-arm'd Phalanx of Foot, he hasted to *Maracanda*, (whither, he was inform'd, *Spitamenes* had return'd) <sup>1</sup> resolving, once more, to raise the Siege of the Castle there. Wherefore, having march'd a Thousand five hundred Furlongs, in three Days space, on the fourth, early in the Morning, he approach'd the City: But *Spitamenes* hearing of *Alexander's* speedy Arrival in these Parts, and not daring to give him Battle, raised the Siege, and fled. *Alexander* pursued them vigorously, and coming to the Place where the former Battle was fought, buried his Soldiers, as well as the Time would allow, and continued his Pursuit, as far as the *Scythian* Desarts. Returning thence, he laid their Fields waste, and even slew those, who had fled into the Towns for Refuge, because they were said to have used the *Macedonians* in that Manner: And thus he overrun, and depopulated the whole Country, through which *Polytimetus* passes; for all beyond the Place where that River loses itself, is a Desert; for tho' it carries a full Stream, it <sup>2</sup> sinks from Sight, and hides its Streams in the Sand. Nor is it so strange

<sup>1</sup> By this, we may perceive, that this Castle never came into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, after the *Macedonians* first took Possession thereof; and tho' *Spitamenes* laid Siege to it twice, he was forced, both Times, to raise his Siege, and depart.

<sup>2</sup> The Account of the River *Polytimetus*, in *Curtius*, differs from this; for he says, *lib. vii. cap. 10. 2.* that "it runs almost the whole Length of *Sogdia*; that its Channel is but narrow, but its Stream swift, and at last it goes under Ground, where the Course of it may be heard."—*Strabo's* Relation thereof, *lib. xv.* agrees with *Arrian*. What the Name of this River was, before *Alexander's* Time, is not known; but that *Polytimetus* is a Greek Word, and was a Name given it by the *Greeks*, is unquestionable. *Curtius* tells us, the Inhabitants call it *Polytimetus*.—If by this, he imagines, that the Inhabitants of the Country call'd it so, before *Alexander's* Arrival there, he is mistaken; and if he means, that the Inhabitants really call'd it so, in his Days, I am afraid he is also mistaken. However, the latter Opinion may pass for probable, tho', I fancy, the first was his true Meaning.



in this, for many other great, and constant Rivers, hide themselves in the same manner; as namely, *Epardus*, which waters the Territories of the *Mardi*; and *Arius*, which gives Name to the Country of the *Arii*; as also *Etymandrus*, which flows thro' the Confines of the *Euergetæ*. These are all vast Rivers, none of them inferior to *Peneus* in *Thessaly*, which passing thro' *Tempe*, discharges itself into the Sea: but the River *Polytimetus* far exceeds it.



C H A P. VII.

AFTER this, *Alexander* march'd to *Zariaſpa*, where he tarried some time, putting his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters. In the mean while, arriv'd *Phrataphernes* Governor of *Parthia*, and *Staſanor*, whom he had diſpatch'd to the Country of the *Arii*, to ſeize *Arſames*. Him they brought with them, bound in Chains, as alſo *Barzanes*, whom *Befſus* had made Governor of the *Parthians*, and ſome others, who, at that Time, had taken up Arms for *Befſus*. Then arriv'd from the Sea-coaſt, *Epocius*, and <sup>1</sup> *Melamnidas*, with *Ptolemey* Captain of the *Tbracians*, who had convey'd the Money, and the Recruits ſent with *Menotes* to the Sea. Then alſo came *Aſander*, and *Nearchus*, with a freſh Band of Greek Mercenaries, and *Befſus* Governor of *Syria*, and *Aſclepiodorus*, a Captain of Horſe, and theſe, alſo brought new Forces. Here, *Alexander* calling a Council of all the chief Men, then

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<sup>1</sup> This *Melamnidas* may, perhaps, be the ſame with *Curtius's Melnidas*; however, he omits the Names of many of the reſt, and ſubſtitutes others, inſtead of ſome of them. See his Account, *lib. vii. cap. 10, 11, &c.*

present, caused <sup>2</sup> *Bessus* to be brought in, and having accused him of Treachery towards *Darius*, he commanded his Nose, and Ears to be cut off, and then sent him, under a Guard, to *Ecbatana*, there to receive Sentence of Death, according to the Judgment of a full Council of the *Medes* and *Persians*. This extreme Severity used to the Person of *Bessus*, I deem no ways praise-worthy; and surely, the Mutilation of his Nose, and Ears, was an Action little less than barbarous: tho' I cannot but think, *Alexander* was led to this, by his emulating the *Median* and *Persian*

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<sup>2</sup> Most Authors differ about the Manner of *Bessus's* Punishment, and many of them about the Place where he suffer'd Death. *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. p. 554. acquaints us, that he was delivered to *Oxathres*, the Brother of *Darius*, to inflict what Punishment upon him he pleased. Wherefore, after he, and his Kinsmen, had exercised all kind of Tortures upon him, they cut his Body into small Pieces, and threw it away with Slings. *Plutarch*, p. 28. tells us, "His Body" was, by *Alexander's* Order, tied to two tall straight Trees, which "were bound down so as to meet, and then being let loose, with a great Force, they return'd to their Places, each of them carrying that part of the Body along which was tied to it." *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. 5. 40. says, that "the King deliver'd *Bessus* to *Oxathres*, that he might cut off his Ears, and Nose, and then nail him to a Cross, where his own Countrymen were to shoot him to Death. His Body was then to be watch'd, as if it was too vile, to be devoured either by Beasts, or Birds. — Hereupon *Catenes*, who was an excellent Marksman, was order'd to scare the Crows from him; and if he was hoisted upon a Cross, he was out of the reach of Beasts. — However, after all, he assures us, lib. vii. cap. 5. 42. that "his Execution was deferr'd, that it might be perform'd in the very Place, where *Darius* was put to Death." — This Story is contrary to every body, and bears not so much as a Face of Probability. And truly, I cannot but fancy, *Curtius* was of the same Opinion; for lib. vii. cap. 10. 10. he tells us, that "*Bessus* was sent from *Bactria* to *Ecbatana*, to pay his Life as a Recompence for the Murder of his Prince *Darius*." — We read nothing in this last Paragraph of *Curtius*, whether his Nose and Ears were grown again, after they had been lopp'd; and no body says, that *Ecbatana* was the Place, where *Darius* was murder'd. However, *Bessus* was not put to Death, so much for the Murder of *Darius*, as for his assuming the Royal Robes, and setting himself up for a Monarch: That stuck in *Alexander's* Stomach most, otherwise, had he surrender'd in Time, he might as easily have been pardoned as *Nabarzanes*, *Satibarzanes*, and several others, who were equally concern'd in the Murder.

Pomp and Ostentation, as also by the cruel Customs of some barbarous Kings, over those in their Power. Neither was it any ways commendable in him, to lay aside his *Macedonian*, and Country Habit, (seeing he sprung from the Race of the *Heracidæ*) and assume that of *Media*: And I cannot but wonder, he did not blush, when he exchanged the decent Covering of the Head, which he had worn in all his Conquests, for the *Persian* Turban, and weakly imitated those, in Habit, whom he had so often overcome in the Field. But surely, if any thing can, *Alexander's* high Atchievements may, be a Lesson to Mankind, that whether a Man excels in Strength of Body, or in the Glory of his Ancestors, or tho' in warlike Exploits, and happy Success, he could even outdo *Alexander* himself; if he could sail round *Africa*, and *Asia*, (as he had designed) and bring them both under Subjection; nay, could he join the Dominion of *Europe*, to his former Acquisitions of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and thereby become Master of the World; all these Things would add nothing to the Tranquility of his Mind, nor would he be one jot the happier, unless he were endued with a suitable Moderation of Temper, how specious an Appearance of Tranquility soever he might put on, to deceive the Eye of the World.



C H A P. VIII.

HERE, therefore, I have thought it not amiss to give an Account of the Death of *Clitus* the Son of *Dropidas*, and of *Alexander's* extream Grief for that Action, tho' it happen'd a little while after this, in Order of Time. The *Macedonians* had observed a certain yearly Festival, in Honour

nour of *Bacchus*, and *Alexander* had always offer'd Sacrifices to *Bacchus* on that Day; but then, *Bacchus* was neglected, and the *DioscURI* introduced; and these Sacrifices were ordered, for the future, to be performed to them, and a Banquet to be made, in Honour of them. But when the Banquet had now continued long, and the Guests had drunk deep, (for even in his Cups, *Alexander* now begun to imitate the Customs of the *Barbarians*) and all were heated with Wine, the Discourse happen'd to hinge upon the *DioscURI*, after what Manner they derived their Origin from *Jove*, seeing *Tyndarus*, a Mortal, was their Father: When some of the Guests, willing to sooth the King, (for such Sycophants have always been destructive to the Affairs of Princes, and ever will) affirm'd, that the Actions of *Cassior* and *Pollux* were no ways comparable to those of *Alexander*. Others, at the same time, proceeded to compare his Atchievements with those of *Hercules*; and withal added, that Envy alone hinder'd the present Race of Men, from paying him those Honours, which were so justly his Due. But *Clitus*, who had, long since, perceived *Alexander's* Proneness to fall in with the *Barbarian* Customs, took these Speeches of his flattering Courtiers very heinously; and being now heated with Wine, declared, That he could neither bear to hear those Indignities offer'd to the Gods, nor that the Actions of antient Heroes should be extenuated, to tickle his Monarch's Ears. He affirm'd, that *Alexander's* Acts had nothing so great, nor surprizing in them, as they would insinuate; and that they were not perform'd by him alone, but that his *Macedonians* ought, at least, to share the Glory with him. These Words of *Clitus*, enraged *Alexander* exceedingly; and indeed, howsoever just his Reflections might be, I can by no means think they were seasonable, at a Time of such a general Drunkenness, but that Silence had been much better. However, when some

some<sup>1</sup> begun to lessen the Actions of his Father *Philip*, and (that they might please *Alexander*) to declare, that nothing great nor glorious had been done by him; *Clitus*, in the highest Fury imaginable, begun to magnify the Exploits of *Philip*, and depress those of *Alexander*; and even proceeded so far, as to upbraid him with the saving his Life, at the Battle of *Granicus*, and arrogantly stretching out his Right Hand, This Hand (said he) preserved thee, O *Alexander*, in that Conflict. *Alexander*, no longer able to endure *Clitus*'s rough, and unseasonable Reproaches, in a great Rage, leap'd upon him; but was held back, and restrain'd from hurting him, by the Guests then present at the Banquet. However, *Clitus* still persisting in his Reflections, *Alexander* call'd for his Targeteers to attend him; but when none came, he cried out, that he was reduced to the same Condition with *Darius*, when he was carried about Prisoner by *Bessus*, and his Associates; and that he had now no more than an empty Title left him. Then his Friends not daring any longer to hold him, he

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* omits all the first Part of this Chapter, and tells us, it was *Alexander* who made a Speech in Praise of himself, *lib. viii. cap. 1. 23.* —Which, I am sure, he needed not have done; for he had Sycophants enough about him, to have saved him that Trouble: — And when he had reckon'd up many gallant Actions, which he had perform'd, he adds, that “ He, without his Father *Philip*, had undertaken an Expedition into *Illyria*, and wrote Word to his Father of the Victory “ he had gain'd.” — What Expedition this can be, is beyond the Power of mortal Man to know. He cannot mean, his Expedition against that Nation, mentioned by *Arrian, lib. i. cap. 5.* for his Father was then dead; and no Author, besides *Curtius*, gives the least Hint of any Expedition against them before. However, it may be urged here, in *Alexander*'s behalf, that he was drunk, and, perhaps, knew not well what he said. But this is not the only Mistake *Curtius* has been guilty of in this Story; for he makes *Clitus*, soon after, *lib. viii. cap. 1. 41.* twit *Alexander* in the Teeth, with his defending him, when he had turn'd his Back upon his Enemy. — Had this been true, *Clitus* was insolent, to mention it; and if it was not true, *Curtius* is inexcusable, for inserting it.

leap'd up, and snatching a Lance out of the Hand of one of his Body-Guards, (say some, or, as others, a <sup>2</sup> *Sarissa*, or *Macedonian Pike*, from one of his ordinary Guards) he therewith struck *Clitus*, and slew him. *Aristobulus* gives us no Account, whence this Madness proceeded, but lays all the Blame upon *Clitus*, who, when *Alexander* was in such a Fury, as to leap upon him, with a Design to slay him, (notwithstanding he was convey'd out of the City, beyond the Walls, and Ditch, and committed to the Care of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, for his Preservation) could not tarry there, but must needs return; and then, hearing *Alexander* call upon him by Name, he answer'd, *Clitus* is here present: Whereupon *Alexander* thrust him thro' the Body with a Pike, and slew him.



## C H A P. IX.

**A**S *Clitus* deserves the severest Censures, for his bitter Reproaches to his Sovereign; so I cannot chuse but be sorry for *Alexander*, who then apparently shew'd himself obnoxious to two of the greatest Vices in Life, namely, unbridled Wrath, and Drunkenness; to neither of which, the meanest Person ought to give way: but then, he is exceedingly to be praised, because, the Moment his Wine had left him, he was grieved, and repented himself

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<sup>2</sup> *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 1. 52. says, that *Clitus* was slain with a Spear: *Seneca*, with a Lance: *Orosius*, with a Hunting-Pole. *Curtius* adds, that *Alexander*, immediately after he had given him the fatal Wound, cried out, Go now to *Philip*, *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*. This may be true; but it is generally supposed to be no more than one of his Rhetorical Flourishes, and an Imitation of *Pyrrhus* to *Priamus*, *Ægid.* 2. *uer.* 547, &c.

for what he had done. <sup>1</sup> Some Writers of his Life affirm, that he was resolv'd to have dispatch'd himself with the same Weapon, wherewith he had before slain *Clitus*; imagining he was unworthy to enjoy Life, who had so rashly put his Friend to Death; tho' most Authors are silent, as to this Particular. But when he came fully to himself, and retired to Bed, he bewail'd his Loss, and pour'd forth the bitterest Complaints imaginable, often calling upon the Name of *Clitus*, and of <sup>2</sup> *Lanice*, the Daughter of *Dropides*, and Sister of *Clitus*, who had been his Nurse; complaining what a Reward, now he was arriv'd to Man's Estate, he had bestow'd on her, for nursing him, when he was a Child; how he had seen her Sons slain, fighting for him, and had murder'd her Brother with his own Hands. Thus he, ever and anon, cried out, that he was become the Executioner of his Friends; nay, to such a Height of Indignation at himself, did his deep Remorse drive him, that for the space of three Days, he wholly abstain'd from Food, and became entirely regardless of his former Sumptuousness of Apparel. Some Priests ascribed the Cause of all this, to the Wrath of *Bacchus*, because *Alexander* had discontinued his Sacrifices. However, being at length induced, by his Friends, to refresh his Body with a little Meat and Drink, he afterwards sacrificed to *Bacchus*; for it was not unacceptable to him, to have that rather imputed to the Wrath of a God, than to any Crime of his own. However,

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<sup>1</sup> *Plutarch* is one of them, p. 33. *Ed. Steph.* and *Curtius* another, lib. viii. cap. 2. 4. the latter tells us this Story, as he does all the rest of his Fictions, for undoubted Truth.

<sup>2</sup> *Freinshemius*, in his Annotations to *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 1. 21. calls her Name *Hellanice*: *Athenaus*, lib. iv. cap. 1. *Lacnicne*, but erroneously, as *Gronovius* imagines. *Ælian*, lib. xxii. cap. 26. agrees with *Arrian*. *Curtius* says, her two Sons were slain at the Siege of *Miletus*, lib. viii. cap. 2. 8. tho' neither he, nor any other Author, now extant, gives us an Account of their Deaths, in that Siege.

he is certainly to be commended, because he neither made unseemly Rejoicings, on his committing that Fact, nor, what would have been worse, gloried in it afterwards; but acknowledged his Crime, in the most submissive manner imaginable. Some affirm, that <sup>3</sup> *Anaxarchus* the Sophist, being sent by his Friends to comfort him, when he found him lying upon the Bed, and sighing, said, in Railery, that he wonder'd why the antient Sages always placed *Justice* so near *Jupiter*, unless because whatever was decreed by *Jupiter*, should therefore be deem'd just; and that all the Actions of so great a King, as he was, ought first to appear just to himself, and afterwards to the rest of Mankind. And they add, that *Alexander* was hereupon much eased of his Grief. But, in my Opinion, *Anaxarchus* was guilty of a much greater Error than *Alexander*, if he supposed it to be the sober Reflection of a wise Man, that a King ought not to be so exceedingly anxious in doing good Actions, as that whatever he did, should be so accounted by the World. Some Authors report, that *Alexander* would have divine Honours paid him, because he had conceived a Notion, that he was the Son of *Hammon*, and not of *Philip*. But when he begun to affect the *Persian* and *Median* Customs, and to imitate them in his Attire, as well as his Manners, he then seem'd to stand in need of no Flatterer, to debauch his Mind,

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<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* takes but little notice of this; for he only says, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 12.* that the *Macedonians*, in order to alleviate the King's Melancholy for the Loss of *Clitus*, decreed him lawfully put to Death, and would have hinder'd his Burial, had not the King commanded the contrary; tho' afterwards, *lib. viii. cap. 8.* he attributes the good Advice which brought *Alexander* to himself, as given by *Calisthenes*. However, *Plutarch* will set us right, in this Case; for he says, *p. 33.* that *Calisthenes* attempted to alleviate the King's Grief, with moral Discourses; but that *Anaxarchus* was the Author of this here mentioned by *Arrian*.



nor any Sophist, such as *Anaxarchus*, or \* *Agis*, the Greek Poet, to seduce him.



C H A P. X.

**C**ALLISTHENES the *Olymbian*, a Scholar of *Aristotle*, one of a Disposition rough, and inflexible, entirely disapproved these Methods of proceeding; for which he is worthy due Praise: but what he has wrote, relating to that Affair, (if he really wrote it) is no great Argument of his Humility, (*viz.*) That *Alexander*, and his Military Exploits, were no ways comparable to him, and his Writings: That he did not accompany him for any Glory he hoped, thereby, to acquire himself; but that he might render him the most illustrious, and most glorious, among Mortals: That he was not to build any Hopes of Divine Honours, upon those fabulous Stories relating to his Mother, and his Birth; but rather upon those Things, he should hand down to Posterity concerning him. Some also say, that when he was ask'd by *Philotas*, whom he deem'd most honour'd by the People of *Athens*; he answer'd, *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, because they had slain one of the Tyrants of their State, and dissolved the Tyranny. And when *Philotas* again ask'd him, If any one was, now, to put a Tyrant to Death, in which of the *Grecian* States would he

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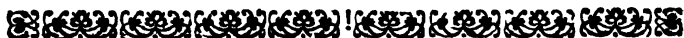
\* We have but a scurvy Character of this Poet given us by *Curcius*: "*Agis* of *Argos*, says he, *lib. viii. cap. 5. 8.* who wrote the "worst Verses of any, except *Charilus*, and *Cleo* the *Sicilian*, (who "was not only a Flatterer by Disposition, but by Birth, as most *Sicilians* are) and many more, the very Scum of the Cities they came "from, were promoted by the King, before his Friends, and the "chief Officers of the Army."

find Protection? he replied, If in no other, surely he would in *Athens*; for they had enter'd into a War, with the Sons of *Hercules*, against *Eurystheus*, who had, at that Time, usurp'd the Government of *Greece*. As to the Adoration, which should have been paid to *Alexander*, there goes a Story to this purpose: It was agreed upon between him and his<sup>1</sup> Sophists, and those of the *Persian* and *Median* Nations, who were of the highest Rank, about him, that as they were drinking, they should fall into a Discourse on purpose, which *Anaxarchus* was to usher in, by asserting, that *Alexander* was more worthy to be esteem'd a God, than either *Bacchus*, or *Hercules*; and that, not so much on account of the Greatness of his Actions, as because *Bacchus* was no more than a *Theban*, a Race of Men, for Valour and Renown, no ways comparable to the *Macedonians*; and as for *Hercules*, he was, indeed, a *Grecian*, but his chief Glory was, that *Alexander* deduced his Origin from him; and that, therefore, the *Macedonians* might, with much more Reason and Justice, attribute Divine Honours to their King, than either the *Thebans* to *Bacchus*, or the *Grecians* to *Hercules*. And as there was no doubt, but he would be worshipped as a God, by his People, after Death; it would be much better to pay him the same Adoration, in the Time of his Life; for after his Decease, no Fruits of the Honours bestow'd upon him, by Mortals, would be able to reach him.

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<sup>1</sup> These were, *Anaxarchus*, *Agis*, and *Charilus*; to which *Plutarch* adds, *Bageas*, and *Agnon*: and no doubt but there were abundance more.





C H A P. XI.

THESE, and many other Things to the same purpose, were spoke by *Anaxarchus*; and when he had finished, those who were of his Party, begun to applaud his Oration, and declare themselves ready to begin their Adoration immediately; upon which, many of the *Macedonians*, who disliked *Anaxarchus*'s Speech, held their Peace: but *Callisthenes*, breaking the general Silence, spoke to *Anaxarchus* in this Manner: " I cannot, O *Anaxarchus*, deem *Alexander* unworthy any Honour, which it becomes a mortal Man to accept: But divine and human Honours are widely different, as well in other things, as in the rearing of Temples, and the erecting of Statues. To the Gods we consecrate Temples, offer Sacrifices, and pour out Libations; again, Hymns are peculiarly attributed to the Gods: Praises to Men, but accompanied with no Adoration. Men we usually kiss, by way of Salutation; but the Gods being placed aloft, it is not lawful so much as to touch them, because they are Objects of Worship. Dances are also led up, and *Pæans* sung in Honour of them; which is no Wonder: But one sort of Honours is ascribed to the Gods, another to Heroes; and the Honours paid to Heroes, is vastly different from divine Adoration. It is therefore a Matter of the utmost Importance, for us to avoid confounding these Things, with one another; and neither by extravagant Accumulations of Honours, to pretend to exalt Men above Mortality, nor to debase the Gods, by robbing them of the Worship they so justly claim, and reducing them

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“ to a Level with Mankind. Even *Alexander* him-  
 “ self, would be enraged, should any private Man  
 “ usurp a Royal Title, in an unlawful Manner :  
 “ With how much more Justice, may the Gods be  
 “ enraged, if any Mortal dares claim divine Ho-  
 “ nours, or accept them, when offer’d, by others.  
 “ That *Alexander* is, and ought to be esteem’d of  
 “ Heroes, the most heroic ; of Men of Valour, the  
 “ most valiant ; of Kings, the most King-like ; and  
 “ of Emperors, the most worthy of Imperial Dig-  
 “ nity, none will deny. It was thy Province, O  
 “ *Anaxarchus*, if it was any one’s, to have instill’d  
 “ such Notions as these into *Alexander’s* Mind, and  
 “ to have deterr’d him from those opposite to them,  
 “ by thy Discourse, which he daily delights in, be-  
 “ cause of thy Wisdom, and Learning. It was highly  
 “ unbecoming thee, to be Author of such a Speech,  
 “ who oughtest to have call’d to mind, that thou  
 “ wast not then giving Counsel to *Cambyses*, or  
 “ *Xerxes*, but to the Son of *Philip*, who derives  
 “ his Pedigree from *Hercules*, and *Æacus*, whose  
 “ Ancestors came to *Macedonia* from *Argos*, and  
 “ obtain’d the Kingdom, not by Force, but by  
 “ Law, and Right. Even *Hercules* himself, had  
 “ no Divine Honours ascribed to him, by the *Gre-*  
 “ *cians*, during his Life, nor yet after his Death,  
 “ till they were commanded by the *Delpbick* Oracle,  
 “ to worship him as a God. But if there be some  
 “ few, who, among a Nation of *Barbarians*, have  
 “ degenerated into the *Barbarian* Customs and  
 “ Manners, I beseech thee, O *Alexander*, still to  
 “ continu mindful of *Greece*, for whose sake this  
 “ Expedition was undertaken, that thou mightest  
 “ join *Asia* to the *Grecian* Empire : Consider now,  
 “ when thou returnest into thine own Country,  
 “ whether thou wilt force the *Greeks*, a free People,  
 “ to pay thee Adoration ; or, if they are to be ex-  
 “ empted, whether the *Macedonians* alone are to be  
 “ loaden with that Disgrace, or whether different  
 “ Honours

“ Honours are to be given thee by different People,  
 “ the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* approaching thee in  
 “ their antient Manner, with such as belong to  
 “ Mankind, and the *Barbarians*, after theirs, sa-  
 “ luting thee with those, which none but the Gods  
 “ can admit of. If you object to this, that *Cyrus*  
 “ the Son of *Cambyſes*, was the first of all Men,  
 “ who had Divine Worship offer'd him, and that  
 “ this has been given to the Monarchs of *Persia*,  
 “ and *Media*, ever ſince; conſider, I beſeech thee,  
 “ that the *Scythians*, an indigent, but free People,  
 “ corrected *Cyrus*, for his unexampled Inſolency.  
 “ *Darius* the former, received a Check from another  
 “ Nation of *Scythians*: *Xerxes* from the *Athenians*,  
 “ and *Lacedæmonians*: *Artaxerxes* from *Clearchus*,  
 “ and *Xenophon*, with no more than Ten thouſand  
 “ Soldiers: and this *Darius*, from *Alexander*, before  
 “ any Divine Honours have been decreed him.”



C H A P. XII.

THESE, and many other things, to the ſame  
 purpoſe, *Calliſthenes* utter'd at that Time,  
 which *Alexander* took heinouſly; but they were  
 grateful to the *Macedonians*: which, when the King  
 underſtood, he immediately ſent to examin, whe-  
 ther the *Macedonians* were mindful of the Adoration  
 they owed him. While the King ſpoke, a profound  
 Silence was obſerved; after which, thoſe *Persians*  
 who transcended others in Age, and Honours, roſe  
 up, and begun to worſhip him, after the *Persian*  
 Manner. But <sup>1</sup> *Leonnatus*, one of his Friends, ob-  
 ſerving

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* gives us a Story not much unlike this, only inſtead of  
*Leonnatus*, he ſubſtitutes *Polypercon*, who, he ſays, *lib. viii. cap. 5.*  
 22. &c. ſitting next the King, began to jeſt upon one who touch'd  
 the

serving one of them behave undecently, scoff'd at his Action, as too abject, and ridiculous; whereat *Alexander* was much offended; but afterwards received him again into Favour. <sup>a</sup> Some write, that *Alexander* took a Golden Goblet, full of Wine, in his Hand, and having drunk it off to the Person he designed should adore him, he rose from his Seat, and having answer'd his Expectations, received a Kiss, and departed. And this was performed by all the Company, in Order: But when the Cup came to *Callisthenes*, he indeed rose up and drunk the Wine, and drawing nearer, would have received his Kiss, according to Custom, without performing his Worship; and the King, then engaged in a deep Discourse with *Hephaestion*, did not observe whether he went thro' with it or no; but *Demetrius* the Son of *Pythonaetes*, one of his Friends, seeing *Callisthenes* approach nigh to kiss the King, acquainted him, that he had not done his Duty; for which Reason, he received a Repulse; whereupon he departed, saying, he was only one Kiss Loser. I am far from approving any of these Speeches of *Callisthenes*, which immediately tended to disgrace his Sovereign; neither is his rigid stiffness, and sourness of Disposition, any ways commendable: But this I may affirm, that whoever is resolved to serve a Prince, must submit to such Things as are deem'd requisite to the Advancement

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the Ground with his Chin, bidding him hit it a little harder; which enraged the King to such a degree, that he cried out, Will not you worship me? Am I to be ridiculed by you? and plucking him down from his Couch, he threw him upon the Ground, and as he lay extended, Now, says *Alexander*, you do the same thing yourself, which you ridiculed in another; and ordering him into Custody, he dismiss'd the rest. However, at last, after a severe Chastisement, he pardoned him.

<sup>a</sup> *Plutarch*, p. 34. assures us, this was *Chares* of *Mitylene*; and the Story in that Author is very near the same with this, only *Demetrius* the Son of *Pythonaetes*, is by him surnamed *Pheidon*.

of

of that Prince's Honour; and therefore I cannot but think, that *Callisthenes* became justly odious to *Alexander*, for the unseasonable, and unwarrantable License which he gave to his Tongue; as well as for his foolish Haughtiness. And this, without doubt, was the Reason, why such easy Credit was given to the Information lodged against him, of his being privy to the Conspiracy of some young Men, to take away *Alexander's* Life; and this also strengthen'd the Accusations of others, who protested, that they were induced, by him alone, to join in that Design.



C H A P. XIII.

THE Story of this Conspiracy, is thus related: An Ordinance had been instituted by *Philip*, that the Sons of those *Macedonians*, who had arrived to the highest Posts of Honour, should, as soon as they were grown up, be elected to attend the Person of their Sovereign. These were to serve all the Offices about the King, to be his Guard when he slept, to receive the Horse from the Groom of the Stable, and bring him for the King to mount, to clothe him in a *Persian* Habit, and be his Companions when he rode out a Hunting. Among these, was *Hermolaus* the Son of *Sopolis*, who seem'd to be much given to the Study of Philosophy, and was an Admirer of *Callisthenes*. This *Hermolaus*, on a certain Time, when the King went a Hunting, and a Boar made towards him, prevented him, by striking the Beast first, which immediately fell down dead. The King, enraged that this Opportunity of smiting the Boar was snatch'd out of his Hands, commanded the Youth instantly to be

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whipp'd, in sight of all his Companions, and his Horse to be taken from him. *Hermolaus*, deeply resenting this Disgrace, communicated his Mind to *Sostratus* the Son of *Amyntas*, one of equal Age with himself, and whom he exceedingly loved; and withal assured him, that his Life would be a Burthen to him, unless he could revenge this heinous Affront, upon his Sovereign. *Sostratus*, by reason of the great Love he had for him, easily came into his Measures; and he, afterwards, persuaded *Antipater* the Son of *Asclepiodorus*, Governor of *Syria*, to join with them; as also *Epimenes* the Son of *Arseas*, and *Anticles* the Son of *Theocritus*, and *Philotas* the Son of *Carfis* the *T'bracian*. When therefore it came to *Antipater's* Turn to watch, they resolv'd, that Night, to kill *Alexander* in his Sleep. But it so fell out, that the King, of his own accord, (as some say) sat up drinking till Day-light: But *Aristobulus* tells us, that a certain *Syrian* Wo-

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* differs from *Arrian* here; for he makes *Antipater* one of those, who were drawn into this Conspiracy, and *Asclepiodorus* another, *lib. viii. cap. 6. 9.* Whereas *Arrian* shews us plainly, it was only *Antipater* the Son of *Asclepiodorus*, Governor of *Syria*, who has been mentioned before: notwithstanding which, *Aldus*, in his Edition of *Curtius*, has chosen to follow *Arrian*. *Curtius* has, indeed, given us the Names of the rest, but without any Account, who they descended from; which is the Cause of infinite Mistakes and Confusion in History. *Raderus* has been drawn into an Error, by following *Curtius* too close. *Vide Comment. ad Curt. lib. viii. cap. 6. 10.* For he says, that Nine being join'd in the Conspiracy, and their Turns of watching, coming on once every Seven Nights, there must have been just Sixty-three of these Guards. — So say I too. But then, *Arrian* has fairly prun'd away *Asclepiodorus* from the Number; and as to *Elaptonius*, and *Nicostratus*, I much doubt of them, because I can find their Names, as Conspirators, no where but in *Curtius*. So that the Number will be reduced to Eight, at most, if not to Seven, or Six. I am sure, *Arrian* reckons only Six, and gives us their Names so very plainly, as to admit of no Doubt; (*viz.*) *Hermolaus* the Son of *Sopolis*; *Sostratus* the Son of *Amyntas*; *Antipater* the Son of *Asclepiodorus*; *Epimenes* the Son of *Arseas*; *Anticles* the Son of *Theocritus*; and *Philotas* the Son of *Carfis*.

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man, a Prophetess, followed *Alexander*; she was, at first, look'd upon as little less than frantick, both by him, and his Friends; but when, by her divine Fury, she had foretold him the Truth of what would happen, by several Instances, she was no longer disregarded, but order'd to have free Access to the King, either by Day or Night, even tho' he was asleep. The King departing from the Banquet, late that Night, she met him, in one of her divine Raptures, and begg'd that he would return, and drink till Morning. He, supposing she was then inspired, return'd accordingly, and so render'd the young Mens Conspiracy abortive. The next Day, *Epimenes* the Son of *Arseas*, one of the Conspirators, disclosed the whole Matter to <sup>2</sup> *Charicles* the Son of *Menander*, his Friend, who reveal'd it to *Eurylochus* the Brother of *Epimenes*. *Eurylochus*, entering the Royal Tent, declared the whole Affair to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, one of his Body-Guards: He discover'd it to *Alexander*, who instantly order'd all those whom *Eurylochus* had named, to be apprehended; each of whom, being examined apart, declared his being privy to the Conspiracy; and they gave the Names of several others.

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<sup>2</sup> *Epimenes*, according to *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 6. 20. discovered this Conspiracy to his Brother *Eurylochus*, without taking any notice of *Charicles* the Son of *Menander*, his Friend; he also joins *Leonatus* with *Ptolemy*, tho' *Arrian* makes no mention of him. They were sentenced, and stoned to Death. *Justin*, lib. xii. cap. 6. tells us, that *Eurylochus* was put to Death by *Alexander*. — But he being no way concern'd in the Plot, but the Discoverer thereof to *Ptolemy*, 'tis the most unlikely thing imaginable, he should suffer; on the contrary, *Curtius's* Testimony is much the more probable, (*viz.*) that he rewarded *Eurylochus* nobly, and gave him his Brother's Life, who, tho' one of the Conspirators, was the first who discover'd it.





## C H A P. XIV.

**A**RISTOBULUS adds, that the Conspirators, when seiz'd, not only confess'd their own Guilt, but alledg'd, that they were instigated there-to, by *Callisthenes*; and *Ptolemy* confirms his Relation. Some Writers give a different Account of this Matter, namely, that *Alexander* bearing a deadly Grudge to *Callisthenes*, and knowing the Intimacy which was between him and *Hermolaus*, easily entertained a Notion of his being concerned therein, from their Information. <sup>1</sup> Others assure us, that *Hermolaus*, being brought forth before the *Macedonians*, openly confess'd, that the Plot was contrived by himself; for that it was below the Soul of a free Man, to bear the Injuries he had received from the King; and that he, then, related all the Cruelties committed by *Alexander*, in Order, namely, the unjust Murder of *Philotas*, and the more inhuman one, of his Father *Parmenio*, and those who suffer'd at that Time; the rash, and barbarous Assassination of *Clitus*; his assuming the *Median* Habit; his Edict, for having Divine Honours bestow'd upon himself, not yet recall'd; as also, his Drunkenness, Sloth, and Luxury; all which, when he could no longer bear, he was willing, at once, to set himself, and the rest of the *Macedonians*, free from such intolerable Slavery. They add, that then *Hermolaus*, and his Accomplices, were

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* is one of the Number: He has given us the Speech of *Hermolaus*, at full Length, as exactly, as if he had taken short Notes thereof; as also, *Alexander's* Reply, in two whole Pages, which my Readers may see, by consulting him, *lib. viii. cap. 7. & 8.*

stoned to Death, by those who surrounded them. *Aristobulus* adds, that <sup>2</sup> *Callisthenes* was carried round the Army, in Chains, but afterwards died a natural Death; tho' *Ptolemy* affirms, that he was stretch'd upon a Rack, and then crucified. So little do these two Writers, tho' otherwise of great Credit, agree between themselves, about things so manifest, and the Circumstances of which, could not possibly escape their Knowledge, they being both, then, present: So that 'tis no Wonder, these things are related, by other Authors, in a Manner very different. But enough of these Matters, which I have, here, enlarged upon, because they happen'd not long after the Story of *Clitus*; and are therefore not unfitly mention'd in this Place.

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<sup>2</sup> The Manner of *Callisthenes's* Death, is variously related by Authors: *Arrian* has given us two different Accounts. *Curtius* tells us, he was rack'd to Death, *lib. viii. cap. 8. 21.* *Justin*, who is most particular in this Case, affirms, *lib. xv. cap. 3.* that all his Limbs were cruelly mangled, his Ears, Lips, and Nose lopp'd off, and that he was afterwards inclosed in a Cage, with a Dog, and carried about *in Terrorem*, till at last, *Lyfimachus* kindly gave him a Dose of Poison, to put an End to his Misery. *Seneca, Suasor. 1.* calls him *Alexander's Preceptor*, and says, he was run thro' with a Lance. *Philostratus* acquaints us, *lib. viii. cap. 1.* that he was slain by the *Macedonians*, because he affronted them. *Diogenes Laertius*, in his Life of *Aristotle*, affirms, that he was carried about in a Cage, for a Show, and at last, being seiz'd with the lousy Disease, was thrown to a Lyon. *Suidas* gives us an Account, of his being inclosed in a Cage, along with one *Nearchus*, and that he died of the lousy Disease. Thus have I presented my Readers with all these Opinions, that each of them may pick and chuse, that which pleases him best. I would willingly give him mine, but 'tis to no great purpose, among such a Crowd. I would even consult the Sieve and Sheers, throw the Coffee-Grounds, cast the Dice upon a Drum-Head, or try any other ingenious Way, for his Satisfaction; but after all, it will be sufficient to assure him, that Historical Facts, are not reduceable to Mathematical Certainty.





## C H A P. XV.

ABOUT this Time, arriv'd other Embassadors from the <sup>1</sup> *European Scythians*, and with them, those whom he had dispatch'd thither, return'd. For the King which reign'd in *Scythia*, when *Alexander* sent his Embassadors, was dead, and his Brother had mounted his Throne. The Purport of this Embassy was, That the *Scythians* were willing to receive *Alexander's* Commands. They had also brought Presents from their King, which, among them, were deem'd of great Value. To bind this League and Friendship between them the stronger, the *Scythian* King propos'd, to give his Daughter to *Alexander* to Wife; but if he deign'd not to accept of that Proffer, for himself, the Princes of the *Scythian* Nation, and those who were in Posts of the highest Honour, about his own Person, should bestow their Daughters in Marriage, to those who were his most faithful Friends, and Followers: That he also, if he so thought fit, would attend him, in Person, to receive his Commands. About this Time also, came <sup>2</sup> *Pharaimanes* King

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* and *Arrian* agree, in distinguishing these from the *Scythians* call'd *Abii*; but in calling them *European Scythians*, they are, undoubtedly, in an Error. Their Ruler might probably be some petty Prince, on the other Side the River *Jaxyrtus*, whose Territories were adjacent to *Bactria*, and who was either really supposed, or falsely pretended, by the *Macedonians*, to be King of *Scythia*.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Chorasmeni*, and tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 1. 8.* that his Territories border'd upon the *Massageta*, and *Dahi*, two *Scythian* Nations, seated not far from the River *Oxus*, and the *Caspian Sea*; and as this is confirm'd by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Diomysius*, and *Pliny*, it is strange that *Arrian* should not

King of the *Chorasmeni*, to *Alexander*, attended with a Body of Fifteen hundred Horfe, who affirm'd, that his Territories border'd upon *Colchos*, and the *Amazonian Nation*; and that if *Alexander* was willing to undertake an Expedition against those Countries, which border upon the *Euxine Sea*, he, for his part, would not only conduct him thither, with Safety, but also provide his whole Army with all Necessaries. *Alexander* first dispatch'd the *Scythian* Embassadors, with a friendly Answer, well accommodated to the Time; but withal told them, that he was not inclined to accept of a *Scythian* Bride. Then, having highly extoll'd *Pharaimanes*, and enter'd into a League, and Friendship with him, declared, that it was not convenient for him, at that Time, to think of marching towards the *Euxine Sea*; but recommended him to *Artabazus* the *Persian*, to whom he had committed the Government of the *Bactrians*, and other bordering Nations, and dismiss'd him. He also profess'd, that his Mind was wholly bent upon an Expedition into *India*; for when the *Indians* were subdued, all *Asia* would be in his Power; and when *Asia* was his own, he would return into *Greece*, and thence, with all his Land, as well as Naval Forces, pass thro' the *Hellepont*, and *Propontis*, into the *Euxine Sea*; and *Pharaimanes* protested, whenever he came, to be ready to fulfil his Promise. He then again directed

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not only call him by another Name, but place his Country near the *Euxine Sea*, instead of the *Caspian*: To which I can only say, that they were two different Persons, and two different Stories, how much relation soever they may appear to have to each other. That they were two Persons, *Arrian* puts out of doubt; for he acquaints us, that *Phrataphernes*, who was Governor of *Parthia*, came to *Alexander* before, at *Zariaspe*; and if the Persons be different, it is no strange matter to believe the Countries different; and *Curtius* may easily be supposed guilty of an Error, in substituting *Phrataphernes*, instead of *Pharaimanes*: He has play'd fifty such Tricks as this, before.

his March to the River *Oxus*; for he design'd to pay the *Sogdians* another Visit, having received Intelligence, that many of them had betaken themselves to their strong Holds, and refused to pay Obedience to the Governor, which he had placed over them. And when he had pitch'd his Tents not far from the Banks of that River, two <sup>3</sup> Fountains suddenly issued out of the Earth, near the Royal Pavilion, the one pouring forth Water, the other pure Oil. This Prodigy being related to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, he declared it to the King, who immediately offer'd Sacrifice, according to the Direction of his Soothsayers; and received an Answer from *Aristander*, that the Fountain of Oil portended, the great Toils he was to undergo, but that they would, at last, be crown'd with Victory.

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<sup>3</sup> We have but a small Hint of this amazing Prodigy, in *Curtius*, which is as great a Prodigy as the other; for he seldom suffers such a Story to slip thro' his Fingers. He only says, *lib. vii. cap. 10. 13. &c.* "that the Water of the River *Oxus* being muddy, and un-wholesom to drink, *Alexander's* Soldiers were forced to dig Wells, "but finding no Water, a Spring was at last observed in the King's "Tent, which the Soldiers reported to have burst forth on a sudden; "and the superstitious King seem'd not unwilling to believe it the "Gift of some pitying God."—It must be some tender-hearted God indeed, who would save those Men by a Miracle, who were the grand Plunderers of the Earth, and the Devourers of Mankind; however, if he was a pitying God, it was pity he had not sent the Spring a little sooner, and saved them the Trouble of digging.—*Strabo*, by endeavouring to account for the Fountain of Oil by natural means, has quite spoil'd the Miracle. *Vide lib. xi. p. 788. Casaub. Plutarch* tells us, that as *Proxenus* was breaking up the Ground, near the River *Oxus*, to set up the Royal Pavilion, he discover'd a Spring of gross oily Liquor, which, after the Top was scumm'd off, ran pure Oil, *p. 35.* but then he adds, that it was little different from the Water of the River *Oxus*.—No doubt but it was the same.—Thus the Miracle of the Oil is quite knock'd o'th' Head; and as for the Fountain of Water, I hope none of my Readers will take that for one: and, when the Prodigy is demolished, the Interpretation is trifling, and not worth the listening to.



C H A P. XVI.

HE then, with part of his Army, march'd straight into the Country of the *Sogdians*; for *Polysperchon*, and *Attalus*, and *Gorgias*, and *Meleager* were left in *Bactria*, to keep that Province under Subjection, and as well to hinder the *Barbarians* from attempting to revolt, as to reduce those who had revolted already. He divided his Forces into five Parts; the Command over the first of which, was given to *Hephæstion*; the second to *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, one of his Body-Guards; the third to *Perdiccas*; the fourth to *Cænus*, and *Artabazus*: He himself, at the Head of the fifth, march'd towards *Maracanda*; the rest, as they could most conveniently, entering the Country, reduced some of their strong Holds, by Force, and had others surrender'd into their Hands. And after they had over-run the greatest part of these Territories, they all met together at *Maracanda*; from whence, he dispatch'd *Hephæstion*, to draw new Colonies into the depopulated Cities of the *Sogdians*. He also sent *Cænus*, and *Artabazus* against the *Scythians*, because he was inform'd, that *Spitamenes* had fled thither: Himself, and the rest of his Forces, marching towards the other Cities of that Country, which had revolted, easily brought them under Subjection. In the mean time, *Spitamenes*, at the Head of a Band of *Sogdian* Exiles, who had fled into *Scythia*,

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<sup>1</sup> His Army, according to *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 1. 1. was only divided into three Parts; the Command over the first of which, he bestow'd on *Hephæstion*; that over the second, on *Cænus*; and reserved the third to himself.

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and about <sup>2</sup> Six hundred *Massageta* Horse, attack'd a certain Castle in *Bactria*, the Governor whereof, imagining no Enemy near, was surprized, and taken Prisoner, and all the Soldiers in the Garrison slain. Having thus taken this Castle, they were mightily elated, and, in a few Days, march'd to *Zariaspe*; which City, nevertheless, they durst not besiege; but, ravaging the Country round, gather'd together much Spoil. There were, then, in that City, some of the mercenary Horse, who had been left there, by reason of their ill State of Health; and with these, *Pithon* the Son of *Soficles*, the Overseer of the Royal Household of *Zariaspe*, and *Aristonicus* the Harper. These, having notice of this sudden Inroad of the *Scythians*, (for they had, now, recover'd their Health so far, as to be able to mount their Horses, and bear Arms) having gather'd together about Eighty of the mercenary Horse, which had been left at *Zariaspe*, and some of the Royal Youths of the Household, march'd against the Enemy; and attacking the *Scythians* on a sudden, when they least expected any such Treatment, they took from them all the Spoil they had gather'd together,

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<sup>2</sup> This is told in a manner so very different, by *Curtius*, that one would hardly suspect it to be the same Story. "The banished *Bactrians*, says he, *lib. viii. cap. 1. 3.* with Eight hundred *Massagetan* Horse, wasted the neighbouring Villages; to repress whose Insolence, *Attinas*, the Governor over those Parts,"—I cannot imagine, who made him Governor; for we never so much as heard of his Name before—"march'd with Three hundred Horse, little suspecting an Ambuscade, which the Enemy had laid in a neighbouring Wood, ordering a small Party to drive some Cattle, to decoy them the easier. Then straight *Attinas*, without observing any Order, pursued hard after them, and entering the Wood, they who were hid there, broke forth upon them, and cut off "all his Men."—Ay, and him too, I suppose; for we never hear a Word of him afterwards. I leave the Comparison to my Readers. But now, as a celebrated Critic, and Cotemporary of mine, says upon another Occasion, Methinks I smell a Rat: This *Attinas*, tho' *Curtius* has set him up for a Governor, seems to be neither better nor worse than *Aristonicus* the Harper, mention'd by *Arrian*.



and slew great Numbers of those who guarded it. But returning in a loose and careless manner, without regard to Order, as having no Head, or Captain, they fell into an Ambuscade of the *Scythians*, placed there by *Spitamenes*, where Seven of the Auxiliaries, and Sixty of the mercenary Horse were slain; and there *Aristonicus* the Harper died, having behaved himself more like a brave Soldier, than a Musician; but *Pitbon*, being wounded, fell alive into the Enemies Hands.



C H A P. XVII.

AS soon as the News of this Defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately march'd against the *Massagetae*, who, when they heard of his Approach, fled towards the Desert; but were hotly pursued by him, and they, and others of the same Nation, to the Number of about a Thousand Horse, were overtaken, just at the Edge thereof; and a sharp Conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were Victors. Of the *Barbarians*, about <sup>1</sup> One hundred and fifty were slain; the rest escaped into the Desert, *Craterus*, and his Soldiers, not being able to pursue them further. In the mean while, <sup>2</sup> *Arta-*

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* gives us this different; *Craterus*, says he, *lib. viii. c. 1. 6.* being inform'd of the late Disaster, came with all the Horse under his Command; but the *Massagetae* were gone out of his Reach. However, a Thousand of the *Daba* were slain by him; and so the Rebellion ended.

<sup>2</sup> Hereabouts, *Curtius* diverts his Readers with a Hunting-Match, in the Woods of *Bazaria*, *lib. viii. cap. 1. 11, &c.* but it has puzzled all his Commentators, to find out where this *Bazaria* was; no Geographer, no Historian, nor any Author, but himself, ever dreaming of such a Place. The Story is romantick enough; and so, in my Opinion, is the Country too.

*bazus* begging to be discharged from his Government of *Bactria*, by reason of his advanced Age, his Petition was granted, and *Alexander* substituted <sup>3</sup> *Amyntas* the Son of *Nicolaus*, to succeed him, and having left *Cænus* there, with his own, *Meleager's* Troops, besides Four hundred of auxiliary Horse, all the Pikemen on Horseback and the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, under *Amyntas* the chief Command over all these, was given to *Cænus*, who order'd them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for Garrisons to defend the Country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he should attempt to make any Inroad there, during the Winter. *Spitamenes*, understanding that all Places were filled with Macedonian Garrisons, and that it would be a difficult Matter for him to make a Retreat, if he had Occasion, resolved, at once, to turn his whole Power against *Cænus*, and his Forces, imagining he would penetrate the most easily into the Country that Way: And when he approach'd *Gabæ*, a fortified Place, belonging to the *Sogdians*, seated on the Borders between them, and the *Massagetæ Scythians*, he drew in Four thousand *Scythian* Horse, to join his Forces, that they might make an Irruption into *Sogdia*. These *Scythians* being extream poor, as having neither Cities, nor fix'd and certain Habitations, nor possessing any thing, which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their Forces with any Nation. *Cænus* having Intelligence of *Spitamenes's* Approach, march'd forth, with his Army, to meet him; and a sharp Battle thereupon ensued, in which the Victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The *Barbarians* lost above Eight hundred Horse, and *Cænus* about Twenty-five Horse, and

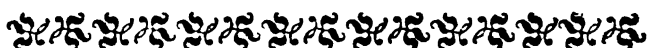
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<sup>3</sup> *Artabazus's* Province, according to *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 1. 19. was given to *Clitus*; but his Death happening presently after, it was then bestow'd upon *Amyntas*.

Twelve Foot, in this Conflict. The *Sogdians* who survived this Day's Action, as also many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his Flight, came to *Cæsus*, and having surrender'd themselves into his Power, swore Fidelity to him; but the *Massagetae*, and other *Scythians*, after the Loss of the Battle, having seiz'd upon the Baggage of the *Bactrians*, and *Sogdians*, their Allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his Flight into the Desert. But when they came to understand, that *Alexander* was preparing to scour these Places, they slew <sup>4</sup> *Spitamenes*, and having cut off his Head, sent it as a Present to *Alexander*, hoping, by this Action, to make him cease his Pursuit after them.

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<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* has cook'd up a kind of a Love-Story here, *lib. viii. cap. 3. 1, &c.* and makes *Spitamenes* fall by the Hands of his Wife. "She had been the constant Companion, he says, both of his Flight, and Banishment; but, at last, grew weary of his Misfortunes, and begun to use all her soft Arts, to persuade him rather to try *Alexander's* Clemency, than endeavour to escape his Power; and begg'd of him, for the sake of his three Children, whom she then shew'd him, to grant her Request. He, imagining Treachery at the Bottom of all this, threaten'd to dispatch her; and had certainly been as good as his Word, had not her Brothers hinder'd him. However, he order'd her out of his Sight, and spent the Night among his Mistresses. Notwithstanding all this, he condescended to admit his Wife; but begg'd of her, for the future, not so much as to mention a Surrender. She then made use of all her Rhetorick, to excuse herself; and did it so effectually, that he was resolved to get drunk — by way of Thanksgiving. — He was then carried into his Chamber; and when his Wife perceived how he lay, she drew a Sword, which she had brought for that purpose, and cutting off his Head, deliver'd it to a Servant, who, alone, was privy to the Design. Thus attended, she came, all bloody, to *Alexander's* Camp; where *Spitamenes's* Head was shew'd, and the whole Story told. However, the King, imagining that the Horror of the Action, exceeded the Obligation she had laid upon him by it, commanded her to depart out of the Camp." *Raderus* says, this Story resembles that of *Judith*, in many Particulars, only it was much more barbarous. — To which, I think, I may make bold to add, — and much more *Apocryphal*.



## C H A P. XVIII.

ABOUT this Time, *Cænus* and *Craterus* return'd to *Alexander* at *Nautaca*; as also did <sup>1</sup> *Phrataphernes* Governor of the *Parthians*, and *Staſanor* Governor of the *Arii*, having executed whatſoever had been order'd them. *Alexander* then, giving his Army a little Reſt, (for it was now Winter) diſpatch'd *Phrataphernes* into the Country of the *Mardi* and *Topiri*, to bring <sup>2</sup> *Pbradates* the Governor of them before him, in Chains, becauſe he had been often ſent for, and refus'd to come. *Staſanor* was diſpatch'd againſt the *Drangæ*; and <sup>3</sup> *Atropates* againſt the *Medes*, becauſe *Oxydates* Governor of *Media*, was inclinable to revolt. <sup>4</sup> *Stamenes* he order'd to *Babylon*, becauſe *Mazæus*, the Ruler

<sup>1</sup> *Arrian* has told us of the Arrival of theſe Two before, as alſo, what their Commiſſion was; for which Reaſon, I wonder why he repeats it here.

<sup>2</sup> He is uſually call'd by this Name, in *Curtius*; but never by *Arrian*, except in this Place.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *Arſaces* was ſent into *Media*, to ſupply the Place of *Oxydates*; which, I think, muſt be a Miſtake, and which I hope to rectify. *Alexander* having now drawn his Army into Winter-Quarters, had Time to liſten to the Complaints of all ſuch, as had been oppreſs'd by his Deputies, and to hear how Affairs went at a Diſtance; and being inform'd, that *Arſames*, (whom his Father *Artabazus* had ſubſtituted to govern the *Dranga*, a Part of his Province) was inclinable to revolt, he ſent *Staſanor* to bring him to him; which he did, in Chains; whereupon he was appointed his Succeſſor. *Phrataphernes* was diſpatch'd, upon the ſame Errand, againſt *Autophradates*, and had his Government conferr'd upon him. *Atropates* was alſo ſent againſt *Oxydates*, and was deputed Governor of *Media*, which he held, or at leaſt a Part thereof, till his Death; and his Succeſſors continued in Poſſeſſion thereof, many Ages after.

<sup>4</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Deditamenes*, lib. vii. cap. 3. 17. and takes no notice of thoſe, who were ſent into *Macedonia* for Recruits.

thereof,

thereof, was said to be dead; and *Sopolis*, and *Epicillus*, and *Menædas* he dispatch'd into *Macedonia*, to fetch Recruits from thence. Then, at the Approach of the Spring, he directed his March to a Fortrefs built upon a Rock in *Sogdia*, into which many of the Inhabitants of these Parts had fled for Refuge: among whom, were the Wife, and Daughters of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*; for *Oxyartes*, when he revolted from *Alexander*, had taken care to have them convey'd thither, as to an impregnable Place. And it appear'd plain to him, that if that Fort was once taken, the *Sogdians* would have no Place of Strength left, to invite them to Rebellion. As soon as *Alexander* approach'd the Rock, he found it every way steep, rugged, and difficult of Access; and that the *Barbarians* had laid up store of Corn, for a long Siege. The great Depth of the Snow likewise made the Ascent up the Rock much more difficult to the *Macedonians*; and at the same time, supplied the *Barbarians* with Plenty of Water.

<sup>5</sup> The Story of the storming this Rock, and that in *chap. xxi.* are so strangely confounded by *Curtius*, that it will be a difficult Task to set Things in a clear Light. *Freinshemius* has endeavoured to bring him off, as well as he could; but he has made lame Work on't, and the best that can be said, is, he has run into a vast number of Absurdities, for want of Judgment. In the first place, he makes *Arimazes* Governor of this Rock. — That might be, for any thing I know to the contrary, because *Arrian* mentions not the Governor's Name: however, *Arrian* assures us, that the Wife, and Daughter of *Oxyartes* were taken, at the Surrender of this Rock; and *Alexander* marrying the Daughter, the Father, soon after, submitted. *Curtius* makes her first, the Daughter of *Cohortanus*, *lib. viii. cap. 4. 20.* whom he makes Governor of a third Rock, no-body knows where, contrary to all Authors; and not only so, but contrary to himself; for he mentions her twice or thrice afterwards, as the Daughter of *Oxathres*, or *Oxyartes*. See *Curt. lib. x. cap. 3. 11.* & *lib. x. cap. 8. 10.* — That they were taken at this Rock, is evident, because *Oxyartes* having submitted, was made use of by *Alexander*, to induce *Chorienes*, the Governor of the other Rock, to surrender; and this even *Curtius* owns, tho' he no where tells us, when *Oxyartes* submitted, and has given *Chorienes* another Name.

However,

However, in spite of all these Dangers, *Alexander* resolved to besiege it: For the proud and insolent Answer sent him by the *Barbarians*, served only to inflame him with the greater Thirst of Glory and Revenge. For when he sent them a Summons, to surrender the Place, with an Offer, that every one of them should be suffer'd freely to return to their Habitations; they mock'd him rudely, and barbarously, and inquired, whether he had furnish'd himself with wing'd Soldiers, for the storming that Rock? for otherwise, they had no Cause to be afraid, it being out of the Power of all other Mortals, to ascend it, by Force. Then *Alexander* order'd a Proclamation to be issued forth, that the first Man who gain'd the Top of the Rock, should have a Reward of <sup>6</sup> Twelve Talents bestow'd upon him; and the second, and third should be gratified in Proportion to the Order of their Ascent; and even the last of Ten, should have Three hundred *Darics*. The extraordinary Hopes they conceived of this Gratuity, added new Vigour to the *Macedonians*, who, even of themselves, were sufficiently adventurous, upon the bare Thirst of Glory.

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<sup>6</sup> This Reward, *Curtius* says, *lib. vii. cap. 11. 12.* was only proclaim'd to the first Ten; the foremost of which, was to have Ten Talents; the second, Nine; and to decrease in the same Proportion; so that the last of the Ten, should have One.





C H A P. XIX.

**H**AVING, <sup>1</sup> therefore, chose out of his whole Army, about Three hundred, of those who had been most accusom'd to scale Walls, and climb up Rocks, in Sieges, they took with them the Iron Pins, which they had us'd in pitching their Tents, and which they design'd to fix in the Snow, where it was sufficiently harden'd by the Frost, or in the Ground, where no Snow lay. To these Pins, they tied strong Ropes, and, in the dead of Night, made the best of their Way, to that Part of the Rock which was most steep, and rugged, and where, of Consequence, a Guard was deem'd the least necessary; and then, having fix'd their Iron Pins, sometimes in the Snow itself, where-ever the Frost had harden'd it, and sometimes in the Ground, where it was bare, they hoisted themselves up, by little and little, some in one Place, and some in another. <sup>2</sup> Thirty of those, perished in the Ascent, and by falling down headlong from the Rocks, were buried so deep in the Snow, that their Bodies could not be found. The rest, having gain'd the Top by Break of Day, made a Signal to their Friends below,

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<sup>1</sup> The King, according to *Curtius*, lib. vii. cap. ii. 8. was his own Herald; and in a Speech which he makes, to animate his Soldiers to climb this Rock, among other Things, he tells them, They have accompanied him over Mountains cover'd with Snow, in passing the *Streights of Cilicia*, and in bearing the Cold of frozen *India*. — This last Paragraph is false; for, in the first place, neither he, nor any of them, had ever yet set Foot in *India*; and, secondly, he has given it a quite wrong Epithet; for in all the Parts of *India*, where-ever he came afterwards, he had much more Reason to complain of Heat.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* says Thirty-two, lib. vii. cap. ii. 19.

Person, which might tend to his Disgrace. <sup>1</sup> All this he confirm'd by an Oath; and assured the King, that his Wife continued in the same State in which he left her; and that *Alexander* was the most temperate and chaste Prince upon Earth. Whereupon, *Darius* is said to have lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and poured forth his Prayers in this manner: "O *Jupiter*, who hast the Disposol of all the States, and Kingdoms of the Earth, in thy Hands; grant to re-estate me in the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which I once enjoy'd. But if thou hast already decreed otherwise, and I must now cease to be Lord of *Asia*; I beg, and intreat thee, to confer my Dominions rather on *Alexander*, than any other." So much are good and generous Acts regarded, even by Enemies. <sup>2</sup> *Oxyartes* understanding that the Rock was won, and his Wife, and Children taken, and besides, that his Daughter *Roxane* was betroth'd by the Conqueror, he assumed his Courage, and came to *Alexander*, where he received all the Honours, to which such an Affinity could intitle him.

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<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 25.* "that *Oxyartes*, (or *Oxathres*, or *Oxartes*) a *Bactrian*, was employ'd by *Alexander*, to advise *Sisy-methres* to deliver up the Rock, which he govern'd:—Whereas, according to his own Account, *Oxathres* had not then surrender'd himself; and *Arrian* plainly assures us, he did not, till the Rock, wherein his Wife and Children were left, for Security, was taken; nor even then, till he was assured, *Alexander* had married his Daughter *Roxane*.







C H A P. XXI.

WHEN *Alexander* had secured his Conquests in *Sogdia*, by his obtaining Possession of this Rock, he led his Army against the <sup>1</sup> *Parætacæ*, because he had received Intelligence, that there was another Fort erected upon a Rock in that Country, into which abundance of the Inhabitants had retired. This was named the Rock of *Chorienes*; and <sup>2</sup> *Chorienes* himself, and other Great Men, in vast Numbers, had chosen that Place for their Safety. The slant Height of this Rock was about Twenty Stadia, and the Circuit thereof near Sixty, every where steep, and craggy. There was only one Ascent leading to the Summit, hewn out by Art, and purposely made so extremely narrow, as not to admit of two Men to ascend a-breast. The Foot of this Rock was also surrounded with a deep Ditch; so that whosoever would lead an Army to it, must, of necessity, reduce some part of the Ditch to a Level, before he could bring his Forces to a con-

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<sup>1</sup> After *Alexander* had bestowed *Clitus's* Province on *Amyntas*, *Curtius* says, he march'd straight to *Xenippa*, a Country hard by, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 14.* — Now, where this *Xenippa* was, is the Question. The Name is Greek; but no other Author mentions it. Well, after he had perform'd Wonders there, by reducing a parcel of Rogues to Reason, he came, with his Army, to a Country call'd *Naura*, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 19.* — Another Province, which no Geographer takes notice of. However, I think it may be the *Parætacæ*, which *Arrian* here mentions, and which is well known.

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 7.* that *Sysimithres* was Governor of this Rock, and *Cohortanus* of another, where *Roxane* was taken Prisoner: But he is contradicted in the first Assertion, by *Arrian*, and the last, by *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*; And, to confess the Truth, it is a difficult matter to know what to make of his Relation.

venient Station for an Assault. *Alexander*, however, in spite of all these Difficulties, resolv'd to undertake the Task, as deeming no Place inaccessible, or impregnable, against such an Assailer: so great a Confidence did he place in the continued Course of his Successes. Having, therefore, order'd a vast number of Fir-Trees, which grew every where, near this Mountain, to be cut down, he commanded Ladders to be made of them, whereby his Soldiers might descend to the Bottom of the <sup>3</sup> Ditch, which they could do by no other Contrivance. All Day long, *Alexander* employ'd the half of his Army upon this Task; and in the Night-time, *Perdiccas*, *Leonnatus*, and *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, having divided the other half into three Parts, took care to see the Work carried on; which was of so great Difficulty, by reason of the extraordinary Hardness of the Rock, that they finish'd no more than Twenty Cubits in a whole Day, and in a Night much less, tho' the whole Army labour'd therein, by Turns. However, descending into the Ditch, and forcing large wooden Piles into the Bottom, at such a convenient Distance from each other, as to be able to bear a certain propos'd Weight; upon the Tops of these Piles, they laid vast Hurdles of Osiers, or other Twigs bound together, and those they cover'd with Earth, that the Army might pass over the Ditch as upon a Bridge. The *Barbarians*, at first, mock'd the *Macedonians* Attempts, as dangerous, and ill-concerted; but when they found themselves gall'd with their Arrows, and perceived, that, notwithstanding the Advantage of their high Station, they were unable to drive them from their Work, because of the Coverings they had contriv'd to defend themselves with, against Darts, and other

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<sup>3</sup> This, *Curtius* says, was a River, *lib. viii. cap. 2. 24.* which, coming from a higher Ground, run with a very rapid Course; and *Alexander* fill'd it up with Trees, and Rubbish,

missive Weapons, from above; *Chorienes*, amazed at the Greatness of the Attempt, immediately dispatch'd an Herald to *Alexander*, desiring that *Oxyartes* might be sent to him; which was granted, and when he came, he failed not to persuade him to surrender his Rock and himself into *Alexander's* Hands; for that no Place was inaccessible to him, and his Army; and the more to induce him to submit himself, he extoll'd the King's Goodness and Generosity, whereof he was an eminent Example. *Chorienes*, won by these Arguments, came, with some of his Friends and Relations, to *Alexander*, who received him with the utmost Respect, and rank'd him among the number of his Friends; and having order'd some of those who came down with him, to ascend again, and command those who kept the Rock to deliver it up, it was accordingly deliver'd. *Alexander*, then, accompanied with about Five hundred Targeteers, mounted the Rock, on purpose to view the Top thereof; and was so far from doing any thing which might redound to *Chorienes's* Disgrace, that he committed the Rock again into his Custody; and not only so, but restored him all his former Government. <sup>4</sup> About this Time, (it being still Winter, and the deep Snow covering the Earth, during this Siege) the Army was reduced to some Streights, for want of Forage, and other Necessaries; but *Chorienes*, in some measure to requite *Alexander's* Liberality, proffer'd to furnish the whole Army with Provisions, for two Months; and accordingly, out of the Stores, he had laid up for a Siege, he distributed Corn, and Wine, and Salt-Meat to the Soldiers in every Tent; all which, when

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<sup>4</sup> We have not a Syllable of the Contents of the remaining Part of this Chapter, in *Curtius*. However, to make us amends, he has oblig'd us with the taking of another Rock, wherein, he says, *Roxane* was taken: but as we have taken her before, we shall take no further notice of him, nor her neither.

he had distributed, for the full Time proposed, he affirm'd, that the Tenth part of what they had before gather'd together, was not yet exhausted. *Alexander*, upon this, esteem'd him the more, because he had plainly shew'd, that his Surrender of the Rock, was more to be imputed to his own Inclinations that way, than to any Force of an Enemy from without.



## C H A P. XXII.

THESE Things thus happily perform'd, *Alexander* march'd against the *Bactrians*, and, at the same time, dispatch'd *Craterus*, with Six hundred auxiliary Horse, and his own, and *Polysperchon's*, *Attalus's* and *Alcetes's* Troops of Foot, against *Catanes*, and *Austanes*, who alone, were now remaining, of all the Revolters, in *Paretace*. A sharp Battle hereupon ensued, wherein *Craterus* being Victor, *Catanes* was slain, and *Austanes* taken alive, and brought, in Chains, to *Alexander*. About One hundred and twenty of the *Barbarian* Horse fell in this Battle, and near Fifteen hundred Foot. This done, *Craterus* also march'd into *Bactria*, where, at that Time, the Conspiracy of *Callisthenes*, and the Youths of the Royal Guard, against *Alexander's* Life, was detected. From *Bactria*, the Spring now coming on, he push'd forwards, with all his Forces, for *India*, (*Amyntas* being left Governor of *Bactria*, with

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<sup>1</sup> " When *Alexander*, says *Curtius*, *lib. viii. cap. 5. 1. &c.* was  
 " upon the point of marching into *India*, resolving not to leave  
 " any thing behind him, which might frustrate his Attempts, he  
 " order'd Thirty thousand Youths to be raised, out of all his Pro-  
 " vinces, and brought to him, in compleat Armour; and those he  
 " kept,

with One thousand five hundred Horfe, and Ten thousand Foot) and in Ten Days Space, passing over Mount *Caucasus*, he arrived at *Alexandria*, a

"kept, as well for Hostages, as Soldiers."— Many of his Commentators have made extraordinary fine political Remarks upon this; but none of them all, so far as I can find, have given themselves a Moment's Trouble, to examine, whether it was true or not.— What a fine Time must *Alexander* have taken up, to send into all the Provinces of his wide-extended Empire? And what a vast Number of his Officers must have been employ'd for that purpose? But as this has been taken notice of, in the Criticism prefix'd to this Work, I shall pass it by here. He tells us, immediately after, that "*Poly-perchon* reduced the Country call'd *Bubacene*."— Here is another Country altogether unknown, and unheard of. Some of his Commentators have imagined this to be the *Paretaca* of *Arrian*; but others of them, have thought the same of his *Gabaza*, his *Xenippa*, and his *Naura*; and, after all, perhaps none of them is the same: however, the last bids the fairest for it. Then he proceeds,—"The Country of *India* is reckon'd rich, not only in Gold, but all manner of Jewels, &c.— The Soldiers Shields shone with Gold and Ivory.— Therefore, that *Alexander* might not come short of those, in Finery, whom he surpass'd in other Respects, he order'd the Shields of his Soldiers, to be cover'd with Plates of Silver, and the Bits of their Horses Bridles to be made of Gold; The Breastplates of some of them, he also adorn'd with Gold; of others, with Silver."— *Alexander* might make his own Troops as gay as he pleas'd, so long as his *Persian* Treasure lasted; but he was no very good Oeconomist. He had made a Bonfire of whatever would burn, before; and now he seems resolv'd to throw away the rest, in useless Ornaments. "But this, says *Curtius*, was to imitate the *Indians*."— Was it? He begun to imitate them betimes indeed! *Curtius* might, well enough, have suffer'd him to have enter'd their Country, and seen their Finery, before he had taken up their Fashions. 'Tis strange, that a Man's Mind should alter so suddenly, without any visible Occasion. He had, but a little while before, set fire to all the glorious Furniture, which the *Persians* had been so long treasuring up, and his Army had run such Hazard in gaining, because he was afraid it should enervate them; but now, his Conscience is not so squeamish, and he gives them Golden Bridles, and Silver Suits of Armour, meerly because the *Indian* Finery should not put his Soldiers out of Countenance. Well, this *Curtius* is an excellent Casuist! If *Alexander* have not Wit enough to give a Reason for any of his Actions, he is still ready to supply him. But what knocks all these Stories o'th' Head, is, *Arrian's* assuring us, that those Parts of the Country of *India*, thro' which *Alexander* pass'd, were destitute of Gold. *Arrian*, lib. v. cap. 4. But I shall defer all further Remarks of what he says upon this Head, till I come to write Observations on *Arrian's Indian History*.

while he, with all his Horse, and Eight hundred heavy-arm'd *Macedonian* Targeteers, which he caus'd to mount on Horseback, march'd forwards, with a speed, because he had received Information, that the *Barbarians* of that Country had retired to the Mountains, or withdrawn themselves to Places of the best Strength, on purpose to oppose him. \* When he approach'd the first of these Towns, he found the Inhabitants drawn up without the Walls; but he beat them back at the first Assault, and forc'd them to retire within their Gates: However, a Dart pierc'd his Armour, and wounded him in the Shoulder; but the Wound was slight, by reason of the Strength and Thickness of his Armour. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Lagus*, and *Leonnatus* were both wounded in that Conflict. Then *Alexander* encamp'd against the Place, on that Side where he thought the Walls were weakest; and the next Day, as soon as it was light, easily made himself Master of the outward Wall, (for the Town was furrounded with a double Wall) whereupon the Besieged retired to the inner one, where they stood for some time; but when the Scaling-Ladders were fix'd, and the Besieged found themselves every where so gall'd with their Darts, that they could endure it no longer, they

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\* *Curtius* has cut this Story short; and so he has serv'd all the rest, from this Place, to the Conclusion of his Work. He only acquaints us, *lib. viii. cap. 10. 4. &c.* that "the King drew out a Party of Light-Horse, and order'd *Craterus*, with the Phalanx, to follow him. In his March, he was encounter'd; and in the Skirmish, drove his Enemies to their City. As soon as *Craterus* came up, he commanded that not one should be sav'd, but that a general Assault should be given, the Walls demolish'd, and all put to the Sword, to strike Terror into the rest of the *Barbarians*, who had not yet felt the Force of the *Macedonian* Arms. Nevertheless, as he rode round the Walls, he was wounded with an Arrow; but the Town being taken, all were slain; and their Cruelty extended to the very Houses."— If my Reader can find any Resemblance between these two Stories, I shall leave him to make a Comparison between them: As for my part, I can find but little.

issued suddenly out of their Gates, and fled to the Mountains. But the *Macedonians* pursuing hard after them, slew many in the Pursuit, and took many alive, who, because of the exceeding Rage they had conceived against them, for the Wound given their King, were all put to Death: However, great Numbers escaped to the neighbouring Mountains. When they had laid that City level with the Ground, he led his Army to another, named <sup>3</sup> *Andaca*; which yielding upon Articles, he there left *Craterus*, with other Captains of Foot, to take all such Cities by Force, as refused to submit voluntarily, and to govern the whole Province, as it should seem to him most convenient.



C H A P. XXIV.

THEN, <sup>1</sup> with his Targeteers, Archers, and *Agrians*, as also *Cænus*' and *Attalus*'s Troops, the *Macedonian Agema*, with almost four Troops of the auxiliary Horse, and half of his Equestrian Archers, he directed his March towards the River *Euaspla*, where the General of the *Aspii*

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<sup>3</sup> This is, undoubtedly, *Curtius's Acadera*, lib. viii. cap. 10. 20. for some Impressions of that Author have it *Adaca*, which approaches very near *Arrian's Andaca*; however, he tells us, the Inhabitants had burnt their City, and fled. But *Acidalius* cannot think that any way probable; for which Reason, he has made bold to alter the Original, and instead of (*usta*) to substitute *vasta*. This is, indeed, more likely; for *Arrian* assures us, they yielded to *Alexander* upon Articles; and if so, they had no occasion to set fire to their City, and run away by the Light of it.

<sup>1</sup> I can find nothing in *Curtius*, which claims any manner of Affinity with the Contents of this Chapter; for which Reason, I shall pass it over without Remark.

lay, and in two Days time, by long Journeys, came to the City. The *Barbarians* no sooner perceived his Approach, than they set it on fire, and fled to the Mountains; however, the *Macedonians* pursued, and made a great Slaughter of them, before they could reach these rugged, and almost inaccessible Places of Retreat. *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, viewing their General posted on a little Hill, took with him a Party of Targeteers, and tho' their Number was far inferior to the Enemy, yet he advanced boldly, on Horseback; but when he could proceed no further on Horseback, by reason of the Steepness of the Hill, he left his Horse with one of his Soldiers, and went forwards on Foot. When the *Indian* General saw him approach, he rush'd forwards, at the Head of his Men, and threw a Spear at *Ptolemy*, which struck upon his Breastplate, but could not pierce thro' his Armour; whereupon, *Ptolemy* thrust him thro' the Thigh, and having slain him, stripp'd him of his Armour. The *Barbarians* who were upon the Spot, seeing their General fall, betook themselves to Flight; but the Mountaineers, disdaining that his dead Body should be carried off by the Enemy, run to the Hill, and renewed the Conflict, by their Endeavours to rescue it. But now *Alexander* himself approached, with those Foot Forces, whom he had order'd to alight from Horseback, who rushing, all at once, upon the *Barbarians*, with much Difficulty, drove them back to the Mountains, and so carried off the Body. *Alexander* then pass'd one of these Mountains, and coming nigh the City call'd *Arigeus*, found it deserted, and burnt by the Inhabitants. In the mean time, *Craterus* having finished whatever was commanded him, return'd; and because the Situation of this Place seem'd extreamly commodious, he gave Orders to *Craterus* for the rebuilding it, and that he should people it with such of the neighbouring Inhabitants as would come of their own



own accord, and with others out of the Army, who were become unfit for further Service. He, in the mean time, directed his March towards the Place where the *Barbarians* had fled, and coming to the Foot of a certain Mountain, encamp'd there; whence *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, being sent out to forage, and venturing somewhat further, still, with a small Party, to view the Enemy; at his Return, acquainted *Alexander*, that many more Fires appeared in the Camp of the *Barbarians*, than in his. *Alexander*, tho' he could make no sure Guess at the Enemies Numbers, from the multitude of their Fires, yet being inform'd, that vast Crowds of them had resorted thither, left one part of his Army there, to defend the Camp; and taking with him those whom he deem'd fittest for his purpose, he no sooner advanced within Sight of the Enemies Fires, than he divided his Forces into three Parts; one of which, he order'd, should be commanded by *Leonnatus*, one of his Body-Guards, and this was composed of the Troops of *Attalus*, and *Balacrus*; the second by *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, in which were the Royal Targeteers, and the Cohorts of *Philip*, and *Philotas*, besides Two thousand Archers, and *Agrians*, and one half of his Horse: The third Division he led on himself, towards that part of the *Barbarian* Army, where they seem'd to stand the thickest.





## C H A P. XXV.

WHEN<sup>\*</sup> they perceived the *Macedonians* approach towards them, (for they were posted upon an Eminence) trusting in their Multitudes, and despising the small Number of their Enemies, they descended into the plain Country; whereupon a dreadful Conflict ensued, wherein *Alexander* had the Victory: but *Ptolemy* was not to encounter those on the Plain, but some who possess'd a steep Hill; wherefore he moved his Army to that Part, where the Ascent seem'd the easiest, and purposely forbore to surround the Hill, because he would leave a Place for the Enemies Flight. There was also a terrible Battle on this Side, both by reason of the Disadvantage of the Ground, on the part of the *Macedonians*, and because the *Indians* of that Province, far excelled all the other *Indians*, in Military Exploits: However, they were at last driven down from the Mountain. And in the same manner *Leonnatus* behaved, with his Party; for he also beat the Enemy, and put them to Flight. *Ptolemy* tells us, that Forty thousand Men were taken, and above Two hundred and thirty thousand Head of Cattle, out of which, *Alexander* chose the best, and largest, that he might send them into *Macedonia*,

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<sup>\*</sup> *Currius* has not taken the least notice of this Battle, which is strange, because it was the most remarkable one, except that against *Porus*, and the other against the *Malli*, which was fought in all *India*. *Justin*, and *Plutarch*, are also silent: but I wonder not at that; for the first was only an Abridger, and had not room for every thing; and it was none of *Plutarch's* Design, to write regular Histories.

for a Breed ; for they far excell'd the *Grecian* Cattle, both in Bulk and Beauty. Thence, *Alexander* moved towards the *Affaceni*, who were said to have an Army of Twenty thousand Horse, and Thirty thousand Foot, besides Thirty Elephants, ready to take the Field. *Craterus* having re-edified the City, according to the Directions left him, return'd, and brought with him the heavy-arm'd Foot, as also such Engines as are necessary in Sieges ; whereupon *Alexander*, with his auxiliary Horse, and his Equestrian Darters, *Cæsus* and *Polysperchon*'s Troops, besides a Thousand Archers, and *Agrians*, proceeded in his March towards the *Affaceni*, and passing thro' the Territories of the *Guræi*, cross'd the River of that Name, with much Difficulty, not only because of its great Depth, and the Rapidity of the Stream, but by reason of the vast Numbers of round, and slippery Stones at the Bottom, which neither Horse nor Man could tread upon with safety. As soon as the *Barbarians* perceived that *Alexander* was at hand, they durst no longer continue in a Body, nor think of meeting him in the open Field ; but dispersing, betook them to their strong Holds, where they hoped to defend themselves, and fight with greater Advantage.



C H A P. XXVI.

ALEXANDER, therefore, first led his Army against *Massaga*, the capital City of that Country ; and drawing near it, the Inhabitants, led  
on

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<sup>1</sup> This City is call'd *Mazaga*, by *Curtius*, lib. viii. cap. 10. 7. *Massaga* by *Diodorus*, lib. xvii. and *Masoga* by *Strabo*, and in some Editions, *Magosa*, lib. xv. p. 1022. *Curtius* says, "*Affacanus* was lately dead, and the Government then in the Hands of his Mother *Cleo-*  
Vol. I. T " *phes*,

on by a Party of about Seven thousand Mercenaries, from the inner Parts of *India*, advanced against the *Macedonians*, with a Design to assault their

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"*phes, lib. viii. cap. 9. 22.*" whom *Justin* names *Cleophides, lib. xii. cap. 7.* *Arrian* takes no notice of his being dead, yet we hear of nothing that he did, towards the saving his capital City. Authors differ vastly in their Accounts of this Siege. *Curtius*, having given us a romantick Description of the Walls, River, Rocks, Caves, and Mote, comes at last to tell us, that *Alexander* raised a Mount in the Ditch, to plant his Engines upon; which being done, he received a Wound in his Leg. However, pulling out the Arrow himself, he continued to give the necessary Directions.— Well, in Nine Days Time, the Soldiers pull'd down all the Suburbs, and with the Rubbish fill'd up the Ditch; and then raised Ramparts, and placed Towers upon them, which equall'd the Walls in Height. A Shower of Darts was then pour'd in upon the Inhabitants, which did great Execution; but they were chiefly astonish'd to see how these Towers moved, and imagined them actuated by some divine Power. However, the Darts shot from the Engines gall'd them so much, that despairing to hold the City, they retired into the Castle. But imagining themselves also unsafe there, they dispatch'd Embassadors to implore Pardon; which they easily obtain'd. Then came forth the Queen, with a splendid Train of Noble Women, all bearing Golden Goblets, full of Wine, in their Hands.— I cannot imagine how they came by them; for *Arrian* has already assured us, that *Alexander* found no Gold throughout all *India*; and as for the Wine, *Arrian* has also told us, *lib. v. cap. 1.* that no Part of *India* afforded Vines, but Mount *Maron*, near the City *Nysa*.—" She brought her young Son to *Alexander*, and not only obtain'd Pardon, but a Continuance of her former Dignity: Tho' it is believed, her Beauty pleaded more than her Eloquence, or the King's Inclinations to forgive. However, he tells us, she bore another Son afterwards, and whoever got it, it was named *Alexander.*" *Justin* differs not much from *Curtius, lib. xii. cap. 7.* only he tells us, in plain Terms, that the Queen, by prostituting her Body to *Alexander*, redeem'd her Realm; and was ever after that Time, call'd by the *Indians, the Royal Strumpet.*— *Plutarch* says, that " Some of the stoutest of the *Indians*, taking Pay of several Cities, undertook to defend them; and did it so bravely, that they put *Alexander* to abundance of Trouble, and Fatigue, till he, having made an Agreement with them, upon the Surrender of a Place, fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the Sword." And he adds, " that this single Breach of Faith, was a perpetual Blemish to him, who, on all other Occasions, had managed his Wars with that Justice and Honour which became him."— Thus have I laid four several Relations of one Siege, before my Reader; and shall leave him to chuse, which pleases him best.

Camp :

Camp: Which *Alexander* perceiving, and finding that a Battle must then be fought, just under the Walls of the City, strove to draw them further off, lest if they were forced to fly, (as he imagined they would) the small Space betwixt them and the City, would favour their Escape thither. Wherefore, as soon as he saw them pressing forwards, he caused his *Macedonians* to retreat to a Hill, about seven Furlongs distant, where, he again made a Stand. The Enemy, encouraged by this Retreat of the *Macedonians*, hastened after them, with much Heat, in a disorderly Manner: But when they were advanced within the Reach of their Darts, *Alexander* having given the appointed Signal, for his Soldiers to face about, the whole Army turn'd upon them, with great Rage. The Equestrian Darters, and *Agrians*, and Archers, were the first which engaged: He, with a choice Phalanx, followed in Order. The *Indians*, terrified with this sudden, and unexpected Blow, no sooner begun to feel their Fury, but they fled towards the City, leaving Two hundred dead behind them: The rest secured themselves within the Walls. The King, hereupon, moved his Army forward, to besiege the Place, where he received a Wound in the Heel, with an Arrow; but planting his Engines the next Day, and making a Breach in the Walls, when the *Macedonians* endeavoured to storm the City, the *Indians* received them so briskly, that *Alexander* commanded a Retreat to be sounded: However, they attempted to mount the Breach again, with fresh Vigour, the next Day; having drawn a huge wooden Tower to the Place, out of which the Archers poured Showers of Arrows; besides which, they ply'd the Besieged with Store of Darts, from their Engines. But such was the Resistance of the *Indians*, that all their Endeavours that Day, were to no purpose. The *Macedonians* again attempting the same Place, the third Day, laid a Bridge over, from the wooden Tower to the

Top of the Breach, and thereby a Party of Targeteers enter'd the City, in the same Manner as they had, long before that Time, enter'd *Tyre*; and when, with the greatest Joy imaginable, they crowded forwards upon the Bridge with too much haste, it broke with their Weight, and all who were upon it, fell suddenly down with it: Which the *Barbarians* perceiving, and being thereby encouraged, they advanced with loud Shouts, and gall'd the *Macedonians*, from the Walls, with Stones and Darts, and all kinds of missive Weapons; whilst others, issuing out from some small Posterns, between the Towers in the Wall, attack'd those who were already stunn'd with their Fall, and slew them.



## C H A P. XXVII.

ALEXANDER seeing this, immediately dispatch'd thither *Alcetas*, with his Troop, to receive those who were wounded, and recall those who had assail'd the City, and still made Resistance, into the Camp: And on the fourth Day after, he rais'd another Bridge, from other Works against the Wall. The mercenary *Indians*, so long as their General survived, always repuls'd the *Macedonians*, with the utmost Bravery; but he happening to be slain with a Dart from an Engine, and many of his Soldiers being lost, in the several Skirmishes, during a long continued Siege, and others render'd useless, and unfit for Service, by their Wounds, they sent a Herald to *Alexander*. He, willing to prevent the Effusion of Blood, and to preserve such stout Soldiers, agreed with them, (the mercenary *Indians*) that they should enter into his Army, and serve under

under him. Whereupon, they coming forth from the City in Armour, encamp'd by themselves, upon a little Hill, opposite to the *Macedonians*, with a full Resolution to steal away, by Night, and return home, because they would not fight against other *Indians*. *Alexander* having Intelligence of this, that very Night, surrounded the Hill, on which they lay encamp'd, with his Forces, and cut them all off; and afterwards, immediately took the City by Force, now void of Defendants, and therein, the Mother, and Daughter of *Assacenus*. Only Twenty-five of the *Macedonians* were slain, during the whole Siege. He then dispatch'd *Canus* to *Bazira*, imagining that the Citizens, hearing of the Fate of the *Assaceni*, would immediately surrender. He also, at the same time, sent *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, and *Demetrius*, a Captain of Horse, to *Ora*, with Orders to surround that City with a Rampart, and lie before it, till he came. The Citizens seeing them approach towards them, made an Excursion, but were beat back by the *Macedonians*, and, in a little time, confined within their Walls, by a Rampart. But the Affair of *Bazira*, did not happen according to the Opinion of *Canus*; for the Citizens, trusting to the Strength of the Place, (for it was not only seated on an Eminence, but also surrounded with a stout Wall) gave him

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<sup>1</sup> The Story of this Siege, is contracted, by *Curtius*, into the Compass of a Nut-shell; for he only tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 1.* that "*Polyspercon* was dispatch'd by *Alexander* from *Mazaca* to *Ora*, who, after a Skirmish with the Inhabitants, pursuing them to their Walls, had the City surrender'd to him."—Had he served all his History in this manner, the whole had come into less Compass than one of his Ten Books.

<sup>2</sup> All that *Curtius* says of this Siege, is *lib. viii. cap. 10. 22.* "*Alexander* having pass'd the River *Chonaspæ*, left *Canus* to besiege a City, which the Inhabitants call *Bezira*."—But whether *Canus* took it or no, he gives us no Account; nor do we hear one Word more of *Canus*, till after the taking the Rock *Aornus*.

no manner of Hopes of a Surrender: Whereupon, *Alexander* determined to march thither; but receiving News, that some neighbouring *Indian* Soldiers had convey'd themselves into the City *Ora*, being dispatch'd thither by *Abissarus*, for that purpose, he changed his Resolutions, and march'd with his Army to *Ora*, sending Orders to *Cænus* to raise a Fort over-against *Bazira*, and place such a Garrison therein, as should restrain the Citizens from making Excursions, and bring the rest of his Forces to him. The Citizens, then, perceiving that *Cænus* had drawn off the greatest part of his Troops, despising the smallness of the Number left to guard the Fort, made an Excursion into the open Country; when a sharp Battle ensued, wherein about Five hundred of them were slain, above Seventy taken Prisoners; and the rest, who were beat into the City, durst not attempt to make any more Excursions. The Siege of *Ora* proved a Business of no great Difficulty, after the Arrival of *Alexander*; for at the first Assault made against the Walls, he carried the Place, and seiz'd all the Elephants, which he found therein, for the Use of his Army.



## C H A P. XXVIII.

THE *Bizareans* hearing that *Ora* was taken by Storm, distrusting their Strength, fled out of the City in the dead of Night, and betook themselves to a Rock call'd *Aornus*, for Safety; and many of the neighbouring *Barbarians* followed their Example, for they forsook their Villages, and escaped thither. This Rock, the most stupendous Piece of natural Strength in all that Country, was by the *Barbarians* deem'd impregnable; and there was



was a Report, that even *Hercules*, tho' he was the Son of *Jove*, was not able to reduce it. But whether any *Hercules*, either the *Theban*, the *Tyrian*, or the *Egyptian*, ever penetrated so far as *India*, I cannot affirm for Truth, but am rather inclined to believe the contrary, because whatever is difficult, or hard to be accomplished, Men, to raise the Difficulty still the higher, have reported, That *Hercules* himself attempted it in vain: And indeed, it is my Opinion, that the Name of *Hercules* is only here used, by the *Indians*, to make the Danger seem unfurmountable. The Circuit of this Rock is said to be Two hundred Furlongs; its Height, where it is lowest, Eleven; 'tis only accessible by one dangerous Path, cut out by Hand, and has a fine Spring of pure Water, on the very Summit, which sends a plentiful Stream down the Sides of the Hill; as also a Wood, with as much arable, and fertile Land, as to supply a Thousand Men with Provisions. *Alexander* hearing this, had a more than ordinary Ambition to make himself Master of the Place; and the common Tradition of *Hercules's* fruitless Attempt upon it, inflamed him the more: Wherefore, having placed Garrisons

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<sup>1</sup> *Curtius* tells us, "the Inhabitants thereabouts report, that the Rock *Aornus* was besieged, in vain, by *Hercules*; for he was forced by an Earthquake, to raise his Siege, and depart." *Strabo*, towards the Beginning of his Fifteenth Book, p. 1008. *Edit. Casaub.* says, that "when *Alexander's* Soldiers had taken a certain Rock call'd *Avernus*, at the first Assault, they boasted, that *Hercules* had assaulted it thrice, and had been as often repulsed." *Arrian*, in this Place, plainly shews the Falsity of *Curtius's* Story: and besides, I would gladly know, how the Inhabitants thereabouts, came to hear of the Name of *Hercules*, who was a Greek? but even that, is easily solved by *Arrian*, and *Strabo* too; for they tell us, over and over, that all the Stories of *Hercules's* and *Bacchus's* Indian Exploits, were only Fictions of the *Macedonians*, who were ambitious of raising *Alexander's* Glory above them. See *Arrian*, lib. v. cap. 1. and *Strabo*, lib. xi. p. 771. What the true *Indian* Name of this Rock was, we no where find. *Aornus* was undoubtedly given it by the *Greeks*.

in *Ora*, and *Massaga*, for the Defence of the Country, he sent a new Colony into *Bazira*; and *Hephæstion*, and *Perdiccas*, by his Orders, re peopled another City, named *Orobates*, and having furnish'd it with a Garrison, march'd forwards, to the River *Indus*; where, when they arrived, they prepared every thing for the laying a Bridge over it, as *Alexander* had commanded them. He then constituted *Nicanor*, one of his Friends, Governor of the whole Country on this Side the River, and moving that Way himself, had the City <sup>2</sup> *Peuceliotis*, not far from it, deliver'd up to him; into which, having placed a Garrison, under the Command of *Philip*, he proceeded to take many other small Towns seated upon that River; the two Princes of that Province, *Cophaeus* and *Assagetes*, attending him. He arrived at last at <sup>3</sup> *Embolina*, a City seated not far from the Rock *Aornus*, where he left *Craterus*, with a part of his Army, to gather what Stores of Corn he could, into that City, and to provide himself with all other Necessaries for a long Continuance there; that if he was not able to reduce the Rock at first, either by Assault, or Stratagem, he might, at least, weary them out with a long Siege, and reduce them by Famine. Then, with his Ar-

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<sup>2</sup> No mention is made in *Curtius*, either of the reducing the City of *Peuceliotis*, or of the re peopling *Orobates*.

<sup>3</sup> *Curtius* gives us the Story of *Alexander's* Arrival at *Embolina*, after the reducing *Aornus*; but tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 12. 1.* that as " he was on his Way thither, he received Intelligence, that some " narrow Passes, thro' which he was obliged to march, were block'd " up by one *Eryx*,— *Diodorus, lib. xvii. p. 557.* calls him *Aphrice*— " with Twenty thousand Men; whereupon he committed the heavy- " arm'd Troops to *Genus*, to bring them up at leisure: Himself, with " his Slingers, and Archers, marching before, easily dislodged the " Ambuscades, and clear'd the Way for the rest." Then the *Indians*, whether thro' some old Grudge to their Captain, or in hopes of gaining the Conqueror's Favour, seiz'd *Eryx*, and having cut off his Head, sent it, and his Armour, as a Present to *Alexander*,

chers, *Agrians*, *Canus's* Troop, and the choicest, best arm'd, and most expeditious Foot out of the whole Army, besides Two hundred Auxiliary Horse, and a Hundred Equestrian Archers, he march'd towards the Rock, and on the first Day chose a Place convenient for an Encampment; but the Day after, pitch'd his Tents much nigher.



C H A P. XXIX.

**I**N the mean while, some of the neighbouring Inhabitants came to him, and promised to shew him a Way, whereby the Rock might be storm'd,

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" While *Alexander* was viewing this Rock, and uncertain which Way he should attack it, *Curtius* tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 3.* that " a certain old Man; with two of his Sons, offer'd their Service to " him, promising to shew him how he might take it, provided he " was well rewarded for his Pains. Whereupon, *Alexander* promised him Eighty Talents of Silver, and dispatch'd him, with one " of his Sons, (keeping the other for a Pledge) till he should perform " his Promise. He also commanded *Mullinus*, his Secretary, to attend him, with a Detachment lightly arm'd." — Thus far the Story runs glib enough, tho' *Mullinus* is a Name altogether unknown, and should, perhaps, be *Eumenes*, for we know he was *Alexander's* Secretary. See *Arrian, lib. v. cap. 24.* But, sure, if the old Man received so prodigious a Reward, he ought to have done something for it: but, what is strange, we have not one Word either of him, or his two Sons, or even of the Secretary, afterwards. Perhaps they lay down to take a Nap, till the Siege was over. — However, he tells us, " the Attack was made by another Detachment, above " Seven Days after." — This is not the only Inconsistency in the Story of this old Man, and his Sons; for " their Design, he tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 5.* was to amuse the *Indians*, by fetching a Compass quite " round the Rock." — The old Fellow's chief Design seems to have been, to trick *Alexander* out of his Money; for that they could not go round it, is evident from what *Curtius* himself adds afterwards, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 12. (viz.)* that the Soldiers, who lost their Hold, in climbing up the Rock, dropp'd directly into the River

*Indus.*

storm'd, and taken without much Trouble. With these, he dispatch'd *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, with the *Agrians*, and other light-arm'd Soldiers, and choice Targeteers, giving them strict Orders, that as soon as ever they found they had gain'd the Top of the Rock, they should intrench themselves strongly, and shew a Signal thereof, to those below. *Ptolemy* long struggled, in a Path rugged, and dangerous; but at last, (unperceived by the *Barbarians*) gain'd the Summit, and having surrounded the Place with a Rampart, and Ditch, took care to hoist up a burning Torch, on that Part of the Hill where it might be the most easily discerned: Which being perceived by *Alexander*, he, the next Day, attempted to storm the Rock; but by reason of the vigorous Defence of the *Barbarians*, and the Disadvantage of his Station, he was able to effect nothing. When the *Indians* saw that his Efforts on that Side were vain, they turn'd their whole Force against *Ptolemy*, and a dreadful Conflict happen'd, the *Indians* being resolved to demolish the Rampart they had thrown up for their Security, and *Ptolemy*, with all his Might, endeavouring to preserve it; but the *Barbarians*, at last, finding themselves gall'd by the *Macedonian* Archers, retreated, by Night, to their former Station. In the

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*Indus*. *Curtius* is guilty of a vast Error, which unhinges the whole Story; for he declares, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 7.* "that on one Side of this "Rock run the River *Indus*; on the other, were deep Holes, filled "with Water and Mud."—"Tis plain then, that *Alexander*, and his Army, lay encamp'd on the Side where the Holes were, because he order'd Trees to be cut down, to fill them up, which took him up seven Days. Then he made his first Attack;—And where should he make it from, but the Place which he had levell'd for that purpose? otherwise, he was doing nothing, all that while.—But then, he assures us, that "the Soldiers which lost their Hold, "fell from the steep Rocks, headlong into the River."—That is, they climb'd up on one Side, and fell down on the other, without ever gaining the Top.—If *Arrian's* Story be not much more true, it is, at least, much more probable.

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mean while, *Alexander* dispatch'd an *Indian*, whom he knew to be trusty, and fit for his purpose, with Letters to *Ptolemy*, wherein he advis'd him, that whenever he perceived him to storm the Rock below, he should not be satisfied only to maintain his present Post, but attack the Enemy, at the same time, above, that so they, being all in Confusion, might not know how to defend themselves. But he moving his Camp, as soon as it was Day-light, led on his Army to the Place where *Ptolemy* had before ascended, unobserved; being satisfied within himself, that if he could conquer the Difficulties of that Ascent, and join his Forces with *Ptolemy*, the Rock itself would soon be gain'd; which accordingly happen'd: For even till Noon, there was a terrible Conflict between the *Macedonians* and *Indians*, the one Party striving to ascend by Force, the other to drive them down; but the former still persisted in their Resolutions to push forward, and one Party always succoured or succeeded another, whilst they drew back and refresh'd themselves. They labour'd thus till almost Night, and at last gain'd the Top, and join'd with their Friends. Then they made a fresh Attack upon the Rock, with all their Forces; but neither could they yet succeed this Way, and so that whole Day was spent. The next Morning, as soon as Day-light appeared, he order'd each of his Men to go into the neighbouring Wood, and cut down an hundred Poles, or Stakes, which being all brought together, a huge Rampart was thereby raised, from the Level of that Part of the Hill where their Entrenchment was, against the higher Part of the Rock, possess'd by the Enemy, that so they might, from thence, gall them with their Darts and Arrows; and while the whole Army was busied about this Work, he was not only a nice Observer, but a great Encourager of them, praising

praising those who forwarded it with Vigour and Alacrity, and causing those to be punished, who were slothful, and unactive, in their respective Stations.



## C H A P. XXX.

THE Army carried on the Rampart, the Length of a full Furlong, the first Day; and on the morrow, by posting his Slingers, and Engineers on that Part, already finished, he repell'd the Excursions of the *Indians* upon the Labourers; so that the whole *Agger* was perfected in three Days. But on the fourth, when some *Macedonians* had begun to build a Mount opposite to the Rock, which was designed to be of equal Height therewith, *Alexander* immediately march'd thither, and upon viewing it, determined to prolong the Rampart that far. But then, the *Barbarians* were so terrified, and astonished, at the unaccount-

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<sup>1</sup> The Story of the Surrender of this Rock, is much better told here, than in *Curtius*; for he affirms, *lib. viii. cap. 11. 19.* that "*Alexander*, seeing no Hopes, nor Appearance of gaining that impregnable Place, laid aside all Resolutions of attacking it again; yet, nevertheless, he continued something of a formal Siege, to amuse the Defendants. He block'd up all the Passages to it, was continually moving his Engines, and relieving those who were upon Guard. Which Obstinacy, caused the *Barbarians* to begin to banquet, and carouse, and play upon their Musick.—— They had had much more Reason for their Mirth, if his Back had been turn'd.—— " This they perform'd for two Days, and as many Nights; but on the third Night, that Noise ceased, and Torches were observed to be fix'd all along the Declivities, which the *Barbarians* had lighted, to assist them in their Flight, over the craggy Rocks. The King, thereupon, not without Wonder, sent out "*Balacrus,*

unaccountable Boldness of the *Macedonians*, who had, now, just finished their Mount, and extended the Rampart to it, that they no longer trusted to the natural Strength of their Rock, but sending a Herald to *Alexander*, promised, if he would grant them certain Conditions, they would surrender it into his Hands. Their real Drift was, to spin out that whole Day, in agreeing upon Articles, and as soon as Night came, to steal down unperceived, and return every one to his own Dwelling. This Resolution of theirs, coming to *Alexander's* Knowledge, he allow'd them a sufficient Space to descend, by calling off the Guards, which surrounded them, and himself tarried there, till the *Barbarians* begun to descend. Then, taking with him about Seven hundred of his Guards, and Targeteers, he first enter'd the Rock, which the Enemy had deserted, and those *Macedonians*, by helping one another, climb'd up after him. Having thus taken Possession, the other *Macedonians*, on a certain Signal, fell upon the *Barbarians*, and cut many of them off; and many others, being seiz'd with a pannick Fear in their Flight, fell down headlong from the Precipices, and perished. *Alexander* having thus gain'd the Rock, which had been too hard a Task for *Hercules*, offer'd Sacrifice thereon, and furnished it with a Garrison, under the Command of <sup>2</sup> *Sisicottus*, who, long before that Time,

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" *Balacrus*, to discover what he could of the Posture of the Enemy. " who returned with the certain and joyful News, of the Flight " of the Besieged, &c."— This Story is liable to many Exceptions; for first, What could induce the *Indians* to fly, when no Enemy was likely to hurt them? and, secondly, How could they propose to escape by Flight, when *Alexander* had block'd up all the Avenues to it?

<sup>2</sup> *Curtius* calls him *Sisnostus*, lib. viii. cap. 11. 25. but tells us not who, or what he was, nor what he had done, to merit that Command.

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had fled from *India*, to *Bessus*, in *Bactria*; and when *Alexander* enter'd that Country, had done him great Service in the Conquest thereof. He then, descending from the Rock, march'd into the Territories of the <sup>3</sup> *Assaceni*; for he had heard, that the Brother of *Assacenus*, with some Elephants, and a vast Body of the neighbouring *Barbarians*, had fled into the Mountains there; and when he arrived at the City *Dyrta*, found both that, and all the Country round, entirely destitute of Inhabitants; but the next Day, he dispatch'd *Nearchus*, with a Thousand Targeteers, and those *Agrius* who were light-arm'd, and *Antiochus* with Three thousand Targeteers more, to search all the Country round, and try if they could catch any of the Inhabitants, from whom they might learn the Customs of the Natives, their Manner of making War, and the Number of their Elephants. He himself proceeded on his March towards the River *Indus*, having sent his Army before him, to level the Road, which would otherwise have been impassable. Having then taken some of the *Barbarians*, he understood that the Inhabitants of that Country were fled to <sup>4</sup> *Bariśades*, for their Security, but that

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<sup>3</sup> No notice is taken of *Alexander's* second March into the Country of the *Assaceni*, by *Curtius*; nor have we one Word of all the Contents of the remaining Part of this Chapter; only he tells us, *lib. viii. cap. 12. 4.* that "in Sixteen Days, *Alexander* march'd from " that Place (the Rock *Aornus*) to the River *Indus*."— This may seem strange to some, because he had assured us before, that the River *Indus* run so near the Rock, that many of his Men dropp'd down, and were drown'd in it.— However, this may be said in his Defence, That the Rock *Aornus* was near the Head of that River; and the King was to march with his Army, Sixteen Days Journey down the Stream, to the Place where *Perdiccas*, and *Hephestion* had prepared a Bridge for their Passage over.

<sup>4</sup> *Freinshemius*, in his Remarks upon *Curtius*, *lib. viii. cap. 13.* thinks this to be the same, whom *Arrian*, elsewhere, calls *Abisfares*, and *Ambisfares*.

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they had left their Elephants in the Pastures near the River *Indus* ; upon which Intelligence, he order'd them to be his Guides to the Places where the Elephants were. Some of the *Indians* of this Country are expert at hunting them, and were therefore esteem'd by *Alexander*, who then went in quest of those Beasts: Two of the Number of which, whilst they were endeavouring to seize them, tumbled down from the Rocks, and perished ; the rest were taken, and being mounted by the *Indians*, were conveyed safe to the Army. He also found a full-grown Wood nigh the River, which he order'd to be cut down by his Soldiers, and Vessels to be built therewith, which being launch'd into the River, He, and his Forces, were thereby convey'd to the Bridge, which *Hephaestion* and *Perdiccas* had already built.

*The End of the First Volume.*







